

THE
HARDYS OF BARBON
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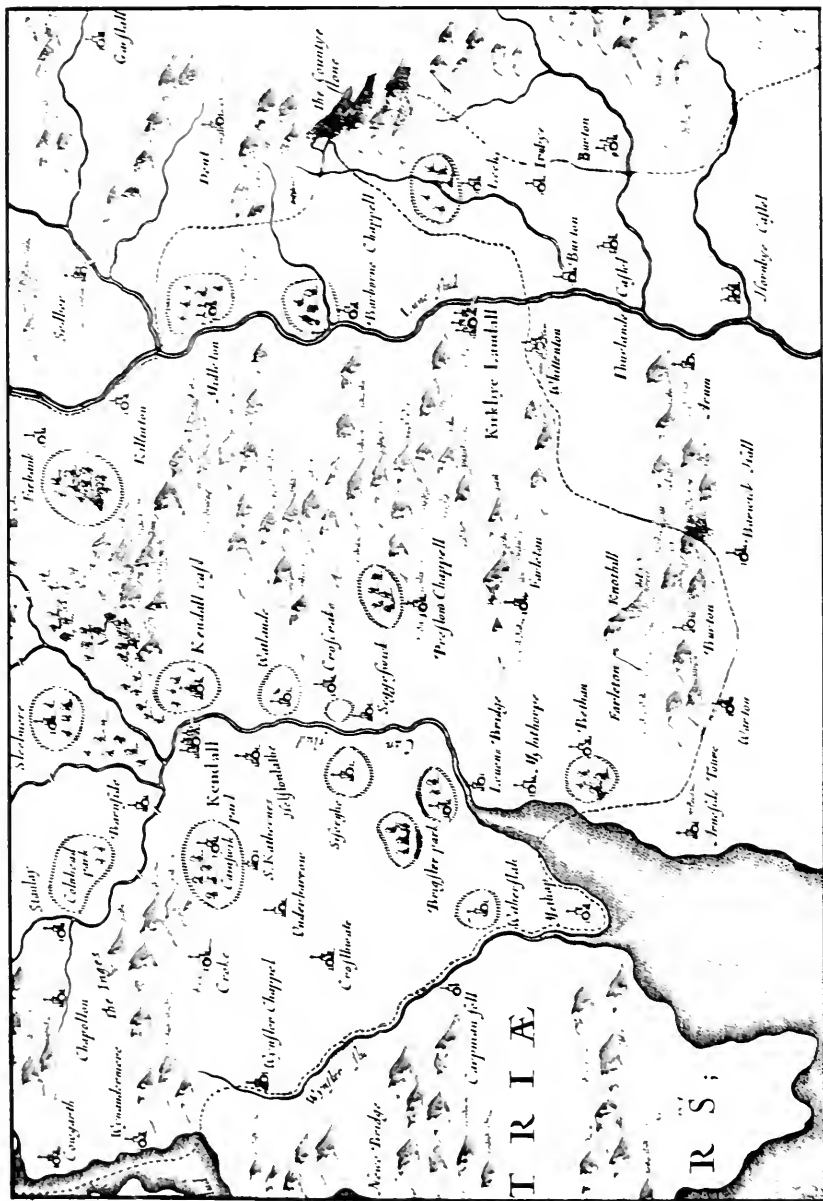


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THE HARDYS OF BARBON



ANCIENT MAP OF THE SOUTH OF WESTMORLAND, WITH BORDERS OF
LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE. See *List of Illustrations*.

THE HARDYS OF BARBON

AND SOME OTHER WESTMORLAND
STATESMEN : THEIR KITH
KIN AND CHILDER

BY
CHARLES FREDERICK HARDY

EDITOR OF "BENENDEN LETTERS"

*Hail, ancient Manners ! sure defence,
Where they survive, of wholesome laws ;
Remnants of love whose modest sense
Thus into narrow room withdraws ;
Hail, usages of pristine mould,
And ye that guard them, Mountains old !*

WORDSWORTH.

LONDON
CONSTABLE AND COMPANY LTD.

1913

“ Il est de ces hommes aux quels rien d'humain ne demeure étranger. Poursuivre des recherches dans un but donné et rencontrer, ce faisant, des nouveaux sujets d'étude, c'est ainsi que cet humaniste se plait à orner ses loisirs.” —D. B.-B.

PREFACE 1135612

But Smith 15.00

MOVED by a very trifling occasion some thirty years ago I set out to discover what connection, if any, existed between my ancestors in the male line and a certain coat of arms. The enquiry soon resolved itself into the tracing upwards of a pedigree which our oldest family traditions carried no further back than the latter part of the eighteenth century, and in the result gave a fairly decided answer—in the negative—to the question of armorial bearings. But at the same time it revealed unexpectedly an outline of family history going back to early Tudor times; and this, put into the shape of a pedigree with bare references to dates and authorities and a few explanatory notes, was printed privately in 1888 as a matter of purely family interest.

In the course of many subsequent rambles over the same ground various clues came to light, suggesting further researches into topics of less limited interest than mere genealogy; and the present work, being the fruit of these researches, is naturally of a somewhat rambling character. One object, however, has been kept in view throughout, though doubtless followed with only questionable constancy: to illustrate in actual detail the lives and limited surroundings of the people

who form a continuous chain in the pedigree, such surroundings being common to them and their contemporary kith and kin, but for the most part hidden in obscurity.

To the great stream of history—

Where sages, heroes, kings of every clime,
Whelmed in the too strong depths of current time,
Neath the slow-rolling waters tranquil sleep—

the little backwater of Westmorland has yielded but a tiny tribute of humanity, and dark are the caverns and recesses into which have filtered down the small fragments of mortality whose existence it is here sought to clothe with a semblance of life.

But, to change the metaphor, it is but a tame expedition where the route is always in full view of the explorer. In the pursuit of the traces of a family whose origin is unknown at the start, the profit and the enjoyment of the enterprise depend much upon the difficulties encountered and the unexpectedness of the result, as each one is attacked or circumvented. For I would ask the reader to bear in mind that in the main the course of the following chapters is the reverse of that in which the actual work was done. The story, which opens amidst the echoes of the Border warfare and ends in the precincts of the City of London, half smothered by the smoke and dust of the advancing nineteenth century, was, in fact, traced from a beginning in the folios of Hasted, Maitland, and the rest of their topographical brethren, in

an atmosphere redolent of leather bindings, and followed onwards through many a dreary and stuffy register office, till it emerged amidst the dales, the becks, and the inspiring air of the Westmorland fells.

Even here one is reluctant to abandon the pursuit, for the question of coat-armour is perhaps the only thing finally disposed of. If we could but go a little further back, should we not be able to hook on to a Plantagenet beheaded for high treason, or to a notorious moss-trooper who was more successful than some of his fellows in robbing the Scots of their sheep and oxen ?

But what I regret is not the want of personal distinction in our ancestry. Far from it : obscurity itself may be a virtue. What I do lament, to change the metaphor once more, is that, as a sportsman, I cannot impart to the reader the exhilaration of the chase, known to those alone who have picked up the scent of the game on the ground itself, and have followed it up hill and down dale ; now running easily across the open, now painfully struggling through coppice and undergrowth, and now with map and compass noting one's bearings and the features of the country, or leisurely taking stock of the day's bag. For, after all, it is but to a display of dead specimens that the reader is invited ; and if he complains that they are nothing but skin and bone, and commonplace at that, I can but reply that some pains have gone to their selection ; that the skins, though stuffed, are absolutely genuine, and that the skeletons are fitted together bone by

bone as nearly as possible as they were before dissection. In the backgrounds and attempts at simulating the habitat of the fauna, where the naturalist is most liable to err, I have preferred to be fragmentary rather than misleading. Opportunities for romance I have left to the reader's own discretion; and, as for sentiment, let me say once for all that this little book is offered as a pious tribute to the virtues of my ancestors and the Good Old Times.

It remains for me to add that though I have endeavoured to cite as accurately as possible the ultimate authority for every statement of fact in the text, I have not always arrived at my authorities without friendly assistance in several quarters. Lord Shuttleworth kindly placed at my disposal a valuable résumé of the references to Barbon Manor gathered from the Public Records, and other useful information relating to places and local families has been given me by Mrs. Moore of Grimeshill, Miss Margaret Gibson, and the Rev. James Harrison. My account of the Kirkburton branch of the family would have been impossible without the full information supplied me by Mrs. Frances Collins from her transcript of the parish registers subsequent to the period of her second volume. Mr. Herbert Knocker made a long search for the information I wanted from the records of Sevenoaks School, and similar help has been given by Mr. Freeman with reference to the books of the Carpenters' Company, and by Mr. P. W. Evans, F.S.A., with reference to those of the Clothworkers. All the

details derived from the records of the Archbishop of Canterbury are due to the Rev. Claude Jenkins, librarian at Lambeth Palace, and to Mr. Frank Peile several items from the manuscripts of the late Dr. Peile, master and historian of Christ's College, Cambridge. To all of these I tender my renewed thanks for their kindness and courtesy.

Last, but by no means least, I must mention my friend Mr. Edward Conder, F.S.A., not only for his constant readiness to check and supplement my searches in the Kirkby Lonsdale registers by reference to his own transcript, but also for numerous hints and suggestions on kindred topics, to say nothing of the enjoyment which his lively interest in such matters has added to my labours.

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* This map is a copy of that in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, 1611. It is on the same scale, but better engraved and coloured by hand. It reproduces the following errors made by Speed's engraver in copying the names from Saxton's map of 1577, which is on a smaller scale: *Burton* for *Burros* (i.e. Over Burrow and Nether Burrow), where the Leck joins the Lune; *Kirkby Landall* for *Kirkby Launsdale*; and *Leek* for *Leke* (i.e. Leck). Otherwise all three maps are practically identical. *Sleelmere* is Saxton's error for *Sledmere*. Blaeu's text is a Dutch translation from Camden's *Britannia*.

PART I
OUR TOPIC IN GENERAL

Now understonde,
To Westmerlande,
Which is my heritage,
I wyll you bryng——

The Nut-brown Maid

THE HARDYS OF BARBON

CHAPTER I

KIRKBY LONSDALE, BARBON, AND THE STATESMEN

THE extreme south-eastern corner of Westmorland, bounded on the east by Yorkshire and the south by Lancashire, is occupied by the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, which extends more than ten miles from north to south and varies between three and six miles from east to west. The river Lune, running with many bends, mainly in a direction almost due south, divides it into two unequal parts, emerging at the southern end from a valley, bordered by hills which at some points on the east approach an altitude of 2000 feet, into a comparatively level country about fifteen miles north-east of Lancaster. At this end of the valley, above a wooded cliff, which here forms the right or south-western bank of the river, stands Kirkby Lonsdale itself, "the church town of the dale of Lune." The whole parish is divided into nine townships, of which six, including Kirkby Lonsdale, are upon the right or west bank, and three are on the east. Of these three Middleton lies on the north,

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Casterton on the south, and Barbon between the two. Opposite Barbon, on the other side of the river, is Mansergh.

Kirkby Lonsdale, the name of which indicates a Danish or Norwegian origin, possesses an interesting church of which considerable portions are of the Norman period ; but in the other townships, which are now independent ecclesiastical districts, there were formerly no places of worship but small chapels of ease dependent on the mother church. Consequently, though some of these chapels, including that at Barbon, existed as early as the Reformation, only those more remotely placed had a licence for sacraments, marriages, and burials ; and the inhabitants of the others, including Barbon and both its neighbours on the left bank of Lune, necessarily went for these purposes to the church at Kirkby.

Thus, as pointed out by Mr. Edward Conder, F.S.A.,* the parish registers preserved at Kirkby Lonsdale, including transcripts of the entries at the licenced chapels, comprise the baptisms, marriages, and burials in the whole of the parish from 1538 to 1812. These records, which are the earliest source of any detailed information about our ancestors, are, compared with those of most other parishes, unusually complete and well preserved ; and, excepting the Commonwealth, there are only two or three periods of a few years during which entries have not been made with fair regularity.

It appears from the frequency with which the name of Hardy occurs amongst the earliest entries that the

* The Kirkby Lonsdale Parish Registers (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, Vol. V, new series, p. 214).

stock must have been settled in the neighbourhood for many generations before the year 1538. In the earliest registers the name is spelt in the northern form, "Hardie," or rarely "Harde," and later it becomes Hardye or Hardy. Going back from the year 1574 to the commencement of the registers in 1538 or a little earlier, which, allowing for two gaps in the registers of four years each, is a period of about thirty years, we find, with the additional evidence of the wills, inventories, etc., in the Richmond Archdeaconry Court, at least forty-two children were born to at least nine almost contemporary Hardys, namely: Peter, Leonard, Stephen, Roland, John, Edmund, Thomas, Richard, and James. The third entry in the register of baptisms is William Hardy, son of Leonard, on December 13, 1538. Places of residence are not mentioned during the first hundred years, but from later entries and the Richmond records it seems that all the above branches belonged to Barbon, except James and perhaps Richard. James, who was of Casterton, seems to have been the youngest of the series, being married in 1574 and dying in 1596.

The Hardys of Barbon belonged to the class of yeomen or, as they are called in Westmorland, "statesmen," living upon the small "states" which were cultivated by the same family from generation to generation, and were held by the peculiar tenure known as Border Tenant-right. This is a species of customary freehold, and seems originally and more correctly to have been called tenancy by the custom of tenant-right. The tenant could sell or dispose of the land like ordinary freehold, and on his death, in default of a will, it descended according to the ordinary rules

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of descent, except that in case of female heirs, instead of all the sisters succeeding together in equal shares, the eldest took to the exclusion of the others. Another peculiarity was that the "widow-right" was not limited to one-third of the income like ordinary dower, but extended in most cases to a half or the whole, according to the custom of the various manors. The lord of the manor, however, had certain rights in the property, of which the fixed annual rent of little more than nominal amount was the least important. On a change of tenancy by death or alienation the new tenant had to be formally admitted by the lord and to pay him a fine equal to so many years "old" rent, and on the death of the lord his successor was entitled to a similar fine. The amount of these fines was no doubt originally arbitrary, and, only in the course of time and after a good deal of dispute, came to be fixed by custom and so recognised by law as three years of "old" rent on a change of tenant and two years on the death of the lord.* The earliest record I have found stating specifically the amount of a fine in Barbon manor is in 1598, when nine years' rent at 2s. 5d. a year was paid to Sir Richard Shuttleworth, the lord of the manor, in respect of the "tenement" of John Hardy.† The timber and "ramel" (smaller growths) were at the disposal of the tenant for repairing buildings and fencing, but he could not sell

* Order in Chancery, 1619, referred to below. The "old" rent being a fixed amount in money, became in course of time of scarcely more than nominal value.

†¹ *Shuttleworth Accounts*, 1582-1621 (Chetham Society), p. 121. We shall have further mention of this John Hardy below. He is the only tenant at Barbon whose name I find given in the *Shuttleworth Accounts* as printed.

them or use them off his estate, nor for building on the estate unless the building was reasonably suitable for it.*

Another feature by which the Border tenure was distinguished was the liability of the tenant's wife on succeeding to her widow-right. She paid no fine, but the lord was entitled to seize the best beast on the property "in the name of a heriot." This at first may seem somewhat out of place, but it was in origin particularly appropriate, as will be seen when it has been explained what Border tenure further involved. The heriot was originally the military equipment furnished by the lord to the more humble class of tenant to enable him to perform his military duties, and as the widow was not capable of these services she naturally had to return on her husband's death the military equipment, or what there was left of it—or rather what there was supposed to be left of it; for in later times it had probably never been furnished at all; or, if furnished, the horse would have come to be represented by the leather into which his hide had been converted, and the arms by pieces of old iron. Hence the claim most frequently took the form of the tenant's best horse, and if he had not even a decent saddle-horse, the best beast of any other kind was substituted. Although the women of the Border did not bear arms, they undoubtedly took an active part in the labour of the farm even as late as the end of the eighteenth century.†

* W. H. Heelis, *Barony of Kendal*, etc. (*Cumberland Association for Advancement of Literature and Science*, Vol. IV, p. 104).

† Hodgson, *Westmorland as it Was* (*Lonsdale Magazine*, Vol. III); Adam Pringle, *Report on the Agriculture of Northumberland*, etc. (1797).

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The peculiar appropriateness of the widow's heriot to Border tenure is seen in the military service which was annexed to it, and which continued a reality in the district adjoining the Scottish frontier long after it had sunk into desuetude elsewhere. According to this condition the tenants aged between 16 and 60 were "to be at all times in their most defensible array for the wars, ready to serve their prince upon horseback and foot at the West Borders of England for annempst [=for anent=as against] Scotland at their own proper charges, so to be ready night and day at the commandment of the Lord Warden of the West Marches for the time, being warned thereunto by beacon-fire, post, or proclamation, and so there to continue during the Lord Warden's pleasure."*

Border service was an obligation due in a certain sense directly to the Crown itself, but the other manorial burdens, the rents, fines, and heriots, were due entirely to the lord of the manor, although the lord, in the case at least of that part of Westmorland which comprised Barbon, might theoretically be the Crown's tenant in right of a certain share, vested in the Crown, of the ancient barony of Kendal. In some cases, however, the Crown had retained the manor in its own hands, and was therefore immediately and solely entitled to the benefit of the manorial dues; but of the numerous manors in Kirkby Lonsdale,

* This full description of Border service occurs in a Parliamentary survey of a moiety of the *Barony of Kendal*, "heretofore part of the possessions of Charles Stuart, deceased, in right of the Crown," dated March 18, 1650-1 (*Exchequer Augmentation Office Records: Westmorland*, No. 6), but the customs are stated to the same effect in the surveys of 1572 and 1574 quoted by Nicolson and Burn (*Westmorland*, Vol. I, pp. 45-7), and in the Chancery Order of October 28, 1619 (*Ibid.*, pp. 51 *et seq.*).

corresponding for the most part with the townships into which the parish was divided, two only, Casterton and Hutton Roof, were in this position. Barbon, in the time of Edward III, was held by the family of Lascelles. According to Nicolson and Burn it passed subsequently (when is not known) to the Vaughans, who sold it about thirty years later to John Middleton, of Middleton Hall, who soon after sold it to Sir Richard Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe, in Lancashire, Chief Justice of the Chester Palatine Court, who died in 1599, and from whose brother is descended Lord Shuttleworth, the present owner.* It belonged to Sir Richard at least as early as 1588, as appears from the remarkable series of Steward's Accounts of that family published by the Chetham Society.† In December of that year twenty pence was the one-third share contributed by him to the cost apparently of repairing the village street, and ten shillings were

* *Hist. Westm. and Cumb.*, Vol. I, pp. 243 *et seq.* It is there stated that it was the subject of a settlement by the Vaughan family in the 23rd year of Elizabeth (1580-1), which would make the sale to Middleton about 1581-1611. The authors also make the owner in 1770 the grand-nephew of the judge, whereas he was in fact the judge's great-great-great-grand-nephew (see the history of the family by Harland annexed to the *Shuttleworth Accounts*, referred to below). They have apparently confused John Middleton, who died in 1626, with his grandfather of the same name, who died in 1580 (see Visitation pedigree of 1664 and Richmond Archdeaconry Wills), and who no doubt sold Barbon to Sir Richard. For 150 years after the latter's death it was held in succession by five Richard Shuttleworths, who made confusion worse confounded. The essential error is probably the date of the Vaughan settlement, which, if it really dealt with Barbon, was probably dated the second or third of Elizabeth.

† They are comprised in Vols. XXXV, XLI, XLIII, and XLVI of the Society's publications, and, edited by John Harland, F.S.A.

allowed by him to his agents for the cost of holding the manor court. Numerous other entries occur from time to time, from which it appears that the quit rent paid to the Crown as feudal superior was thirty shillings each half-year. A considerable income seems to have been derived from the estate, including freeholders' and other tenants' rents, Barbon mill, the park, the sheep-pasture, and the sale of timber, but there is no mention of a manor house. Sir Richard was then deeply engaged in the erection of the great mansion at Gawthorpe which was completed by his successor. Thus we find such entries as in October, 1588, sixpence paid for getting a letter from Hornby to Barbon, and two shillings to a man for bringing a buck from Barbon to Smithills, a residence of the Shuttleworths while Gawthorpe was being built. Again in June, 1591, eighteenpence was paid "to Noddall for his pains for coming from Barbon to Smithills." Both the Noddalls and the Otways, one of whom, Geoffrey, was the bailiff at Barbon, were families of local stock and, we may remark in passing, connected with the Hardys by marriage.

Of the Border and its warfare so much has been written and is well known that very little need be said here. Considering the remoteness of Lonsdale from the usual scenes of conflict, it may well be thought that our ancestors were not often called upon to exchange the plough-share for the bill or bow. It is not, however, unlikely that some of them took part in 1513 in the woeful defeat of the Scots at Flodden, which was indeed rather a national than a Border battle. The old ballad supposed to have been written out by a schoolmaster at Ingleton in Yorkshire,

named Guy, about fifty years after the event, records how

“The right hand wing with all his rout
The lusty Lord Dacres did lead ;
With him the bowes of Kendal stout
With milkwhite coats and crosses red ;
All Keswick eke and Cockermouth,
And all the Copeland craggy hills,
All Westmorland both north and south,
Whose weapons were great weighty bills.”

Kirkby Lonsdale was, in fact, almost, if not quite, at the extremity of the Border district, and the existence of Border tenant-right in certain manors immediately south of Westmorland has been remarked upon as something contrary to the general notion of its limits.* Nevertheless, if the statesmen of Barbon were seldom called upon to join an expedition to the Debatable Land, they had to be prepared to take up arms when the signal was given, and to perform the duties of watch and ward. The Barbon beacon, of which traces are said to remain,† seems to have been lighted on the spot marked on the Ordnance maps as “Castle Knot-Barkin,” on the steep ridge running along the north-west side of Barbon (or Barkin) Dale. Though not visible from Barbon itself, it commands some very distant views, especially over the Lune Valley, and down as far as Lancaster, and over Morecambe Bay.

* J. R. Ford, *Customary Tenant-right and the Manors of Yealand* (*Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Ant. Society*, Vol. IX, new series, p. 146).

† Harland, *Shuttleworth Accounts* (Chetham Society), p. 427. According to Mr. Howard Pease (*Lord Wardens of the Marches* (1913), pp. 45, 167) there were apparently no regular Border musters in Kirkby Lonsdale, but there was an established beacon as far south as Farleton Knot (see Frontispiece).

On the union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603 Border service became, or rather tended to become, obsolete ; and King James seized the opportunity of attempting to confiscate his tenants' property in the Crown manors of Westmorland by denying the legality of tenant-right apart from the obligation of service in hostilities, which he proclaimed were now a thing of the past. Litigation in Chancery between Charles, then Prince of Wales, on whom the King had bestowed the Crown rights, was compromised in 1619 under an order of the court by a payment of £2700 to the Prince, in consideration of which the tenants' full customary titles were admitted. This naturally encouraged the lords of some of the other manors to take up a similar position, but the tenants met and resolved to act together and resist *à outrance*. A proclamation by the King purporting to put an end to their rights was followed by another meeting and more emphatic protests. Proceedings on the part of the lords were then commenced in the Star Chamber. These were prolonged for some years, and at length the matter was referred for argument before Lord Lee, the High Treasurer, and Sir Henry Hobart, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Their decision was entirely in favour of the legality of the tenants' claim, as founded upon a valid custom and not depending upon the continuance of Border service.*

This result, one is inclined to suspect, was due not altogether to legal considerations. The statesmen showed a spirit of staunch resistance and a hearty determination to stick together, of which we can find

* The history of this memorable dispute is given in full by Nicolson and Burn, *Westmorland*, Vol. I, pp. 51 *et seq.*

no evidence on the part of the lords. In fact, judging from the length of time over which the litigation was prolonged, it seems that they must have proceeded in a hesitating and half-hearted way, and that those who really desired to oust their tenants were but a small minority—amongst whom, we may add, we see no trace of the lord of the manor of Barbon. Most of the lords, seeing to what lengths the statesmen were prepared to carry their resistance, were probably by no means desirous of a decision in their own favour. King James, in encouraging the lords as he did, had no doubt some notion of obtaining an indirect benefit out of their success, and it is noteworthy that it was not till after his death that the judges' decision was pronounced.

Thus in parts of the Border counties, Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland, the old customary tenure exists to this day, while in others it has been converted into freehold pure and simple, or into freehold subject to a fixed annual quit rent. In the case of Barbon the thirty-eight customary tenants, by a deed dated January 17, 1717-8, acquired the freehold subject to various quit rents, amounting in all to £15 4s. 2d. per annum, in consideration of a capital sum of £1700, for which the Richard Shuttleworth of that day also relinquished to them all his exclusive rights in the Barbon corn mill.* As the demesne lands which he retained consisted mainly of a park without a mansion house, the lord of the manor was very little in evidence at Barbon for the next hundred and fifty years or thereabouts, at

* I am indebted to the Rev. James Harrison, Vicar of Barbon, for the use of a transcript of this deed made by him from the original.

the end of which period the present house of Barbon Manor was built high upon the steep side of the hill looking down the Lune into Lancashire. In the meantime Barbon has not been without its squire. There has been a Gibson of Whelprigg for considerably more than two hundred years, and the records of the family in the neighbourhood may be found some centuries earlier still.

CHAPTER II

THE STATESMAN AT HOME IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

WE will now try to realise something of the personal circumstances of our statesmen-ancestors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Our chief material for this is found in the wills and the inventories of chattels preserved in the Richmond Archdeaconry Court, which enable us not only to understand pretty clearly their family arrangements as to the disposal of their property, but also throw many curious sidelights upon their mode of life.

Of the Hardys of our own particular branch—the “Edmond-Antony” branch, as we may call it*—no wills or inventories are now extant of earlier date than 1676. That there were no younger sons to specially provide for would probably be a sufficient reason for not making a will, but allowing the law to take its course; and perhaps no inventory was called for by the ecclesiastical court, which looked after the chattels, when they were of very little value. It seems not unlikely that both these circumstances attended the earliest generations of our pedigree. On the other hand, it is possible that such documents, though they

* Or should we spell it *Edmund-Antony*? But, as our ancestors themselves could not answer this question, I claim liberty to leave it open.

once existed, have been lost in the various changes of custody which the Archdeaconry records underwent before reaching their present resting-place at Somerset House. To this day they have never been transcribed into a register, but exist only in their original state of authenticity, written necessarily upon separate pieces of paper of various shapes and sizes, occasionally somewhat decayed and mutilated, but rarely to such an extent as to render more than a few words here and there illegible. The occurrence of words now only recognisable in the dialects, living or dead, of Scotland and the Border is perhaps the chief difficulty about them to one versed only in ordinary English.

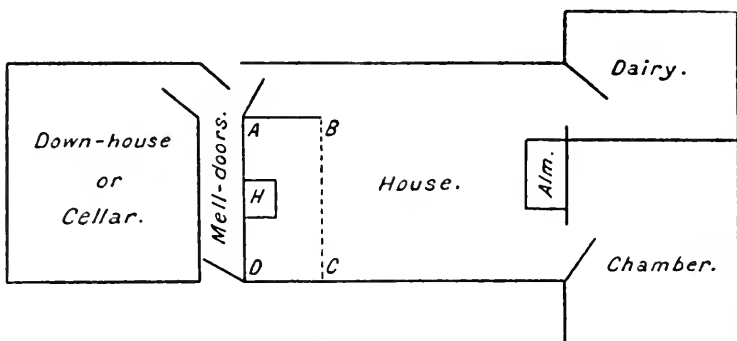
In the absence then of any personal records of Edmond and Anthony of Barbon we will make use of those which have been left by their kith and kin, and our extracts from these may be usefully prefaced by an attempt to explain certain features of the ancient mode of life in the dales as we see it reflected in the still remaining habitations and the traditions recorded before the old state of things had completely passed away.*

Let us present first a typical outline plan of the statesman's dwelling.

The house, or as we should call it in modern phrase, the "living-room," is the primitive apartment which

* My authorities for what follows on this topic are "*Westmorland as it Was*, from the Rev. Mr. Hodgson's topographical and historical description," printed with notes by J. Briggs in the *Lonsdale Magazine*, Vol. III (1822), and reprinted in his *Remains; The Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland and Cumberland*, by Dr. M. W. Taylor, published by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society; and S. O. Addy's *Evolution of the English House*. For uncouth words I have consulted the *New English* and the *English Dialect Dictionaries*.

once constituted the entire dwelling, and which developed later into the baronial hall. To this the chamber for the private occupation of the master and mistress was the first addition. The relative positions of the chamber and dairy were decided by the warmer and colder aspects. The down-house or cellar (which latter word originally had no underground significance and only meant a store-place) is the next offshoot, and was used for the rougher operations of indoor



A B C D forms the "house-fire."

H is the hearth.

Alm. is the almerie or aumbry, a large cupboard for food, etc.

work, such as washing and brewing, as well as harbouring things belonging to the farm, fuel, etc. This would be the place for the kitchen in a manor house, but in a typical statesman's dwelling most if not all of the cooking would be done in the house-fire. In some dwellings the mell-doors (the passage or place "midst the doors") is merged in the down-house. Entering the house, we pass on our right, extending from A to B, the heck, a partition reaching to the ceiling. On the other side of this is a long fixed seat

with receptacles under it, and perhaps an oven next the end wall. On the opposite side of the hearth is probably a large oak chest, wonderfully carved, and a sconce (or high-backed settle) which can be drawn out and placed opposite the hearth and thus snugly shut in the house-fire (or ingle-nook), nearly meeting a beam which runs across the ceiling along the line BC just above it.

The fire is of wood, roots, bracken, or peat, not placed in a recess, but laid on the open hearth. Across the chimney above it is fixed a heavy beam called the rannel-balk or rannel-tree, from which hangs the racken-crook (literally chain-hook), a chain furnished with a pot-hook, which can be moved from link to link as the brass pot is to be raised or lowered over the fire. On the hearth are the tongs, perhaps a creshet (fire-basket), but invariably a girdle (griddle) and a brandreth for making bread and cakes. The girdle is a flat circular piece of iron with a handle, and the brandreth is a trivet which may support girdle, pot, or kettle over or near the fire.

The bread and cakes as well as the porridge are of oatmeal. Wheat is a great rarity and only used for "arval (inheritance-feast) bread" in the ceremony of funerals, and perhaps at Christmas. The other grain met with is bigg, otherwise beer-barley, which, as the name implies, is a large kind of barley chiefly used for brewing. The bread and cakes stored in the aumbry, the great cupboard of carved oak at the end of the house and, it may be, built into the wall* opposite the

* Mr. Harrison has a specimen from a house in the adjoining dale of Dent, which could only be removed from the wall, which it partly supported, by sawing it in two.

fire, will keep good for months. If the family are not to subsist mainly on oatmeal and cheese the house should be well hung overhead, except in summer, with salted beef or mutton, for the dalesman cannot fatten his stock for killing in the winter.

Along the middle of the house is the board, the oaken table at which the entire household take their meals, seated for the most part alongside it on a pair of wooden forms. The master and his family eat and drink from a service of pewter, the servants from wood-vessell,* consisting of trenchers and "piggins," otherwise "skeels," little half-barrels with handles formed by prolonging one of the staves upwards.

The upper floor is reached by a ladder or stair within or in the neighbourhood of the chamber, and consists of a long garret. In the older houses this did not extend over the down-house, which was open to the roof. In this garret slept the children and servants, the sexes at opposite ends with a curtain between them, and in early times with little or no bedding to lie upon but straw and harden sheets. An increase of refinement would gradually lead to a solid subdivision of this floor into separate apartments. Of bedsteads we find no mention in our early inventories. These were for people of wealth with four posts and a tester, but the statesman at best seems to have possessed a few pairs of "bedstocks." These were simply the head and foot pieces made of solid oak, perhaps ornamented with carving, and were connected by the bedstaves of lighter wood which carried the bedding.

The statesman had not only his food, but also his clothing from the produce of his estate. His doublet,

* Apparently a collective singular like the French *vaisselle*.

breeches, and stockings were of native fleece, literally homespun, and woven by the village weaver. His shirt was harden, a cloth made of fine hemp or coarse flax, which had to be "battled" on a stone to reduce its harshness. The women's clothes were of finer stuff woven into a kind of serge, and, like the men's, made up at their own fireside by themselves or a travelling tailor. Shoes and clogs were made at home in the same way.

Candles were of peeled rushes dipped in tallow or preferably hot bacon-fat. The candlestick was an upright pole fixed in a log and perforated at intervals so as to raise or lower the candle, which was fixed on a piece of iron fitting into the holes and supporting ordinary tallow candles in a socket, and rush-lights by means of a kind of pincers.

The arks and chests in which clothes, food, and other things were kept were of solid oak, put together with wooden pegs in place of nails, and, like the other oak furniture, would last for generations. Some of these chests of the period from 1650 to 1720, very elaborately carved, have come down to modern times and have changed hands at high prices.

CHAPTER III

SOME TYPICAL WILLS AND INVENTORIES

LET us now take the record of James Hardy of Casterton as a type of the Lonsdale statesman in fairly flourishing circumstances. The registers at Kirkby Lonsdale give his marriage to Isabel Glover (an old Barbon family name) on July 15, 1554, and his burial on September 22, 1596. The contents of his will, which is dated December 11, 1594, and which may also be regarded as a type, is to the effect following :

“ My body to be buried in Kirkby Lonsdale churchyard. Richard, my eldest son, to have the title and tenant-right of my tenement, to him and his heirs for ever, after the death of my wife Isabella ; she to possess during her widowhood half my said tenement.*

“ As to chattels, my wife to be at no charge out of her thirds [i.e. her legal one-third share], but the whole charge for duties, etc., to be made and done out of the two-thirds, and the remainder of the said two-

* This, it is clear from contemporary statements in other wills, was according to the custom of the manor of Barbon. In later times there seems to have been some uncertainty about it (see J. R. Ford, *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Ant. Soc.*, Vol. IX, new series, p. 146). Nicolson and Burn say that the rule in the Barony of Kendal which included the manor of Barbon, was for the widow to retain the whole. This may have been in cases where there were no children. In other parts of Westmorland they say the rule was a half or a third. Where the tenure has survived to modern times, the whole seems to be generally recognised as the right (W. H. Heelis, *Cumb. Soc. Advt. Lit.*, etc., Vol. IV, p. 89 ; G. Gatey, *ibid.*, XI, 1).

thirds to be equally divided amongst my four [younger] children, John, Edward, Alice, and Joan.

“ To Edward I give an almerie ; to Joan one great chest standing in the cellar ; to John one other great chest standing in the house-fire.

“ Richard is to pay to John and Edward ‘ for agreement of my tenement ’ [i.e. as their portion charged on the land] 5 marks [£3 6s. 8d.] apiece ; that is, 5 marks when he hath taken one crop of the first half-tenement, and 5 marks ‘ when it shall please God he doth enter the whole ’ [i.e. on his mother’s death or marriage].

“ To Richard I give the bed he now hath in his possession and the sconce in the house after the widowhood of my wife ; also after her widowhood ‘ one culter, one team and . . . tugwyddyd.’ [These are parts of the plough-gear. The culter is the front blade and the team is probably a chain for harnessing the animals. A ‘ tug ’ is a trace, and wyddyd (or wythyd) seems to mean bound or furnished with withes. Perhaps the whole thing was a pair of traces with a collar or halter of wickerwork, and the same as is called a pair of ‘ togwethes ’ in another Richmond inventory quoted in the *New English Dictionary* under ‘ team.’]

“ To each of Richard’s children I give 12 pence ; to each of the children of Edward . . . my son-in-law [whose wife was presumably dead] 20 pence.

“ My wife, to whom I give the rest of my goods, to be my Executrix ; Robert Townson, Edward Atkinson, John Jackson, and Leonard Gibson to be Supervisors.”

The last two are also witnesses. There are no signatures by marks or otherwise, except that of John Williamson, who was at this time Vicar of Kirkby

Lonsdale, and seems to have actually written out the whole document.

The following is the inventory of the testator's chattels, as valued on October 9, 1596, by four of his neighbours :

	£	s.	d.
Corn and hay	12	0	0
2 mares	2	13	4
2 kye [cows]	3	0	0
1 whye [=quey, heifer]	1	1	0
3 young beasts, one calf	2	10	0
2 sheep		4	0
Brass pot		9	0
Caldron, 2 kettles, 4 pans	13		4
2 candlesticks, 1 chafer		3	4
Pewter		4	0
Frying-pan, girdle, brandreth, racken- crook, and 1 pair of tongs		4	4
Ploughs and plough-gear		3	4
Wheel [for spinning]		1	10
Wood vessell		9	0
3 chests	12		0
Bedstocks		4	0
Almerie		6	8
Bedding and 5 sacks	2	0	0
Apparel		8	0
3 spades and 1 axe		1	0
Boards, forms, stools, chairs, cars, and all other husbandry gear		6	8
One swine		6	0
Hemp		6	8
Peats		2	0
Pullen [poultry]		1	10
Lime and tathe [dung for manure]		3	0
Total [apparently wrongly cast]	£28	12	8

The debts due from the testator, varying in amount from 18 pence to 50 shillings, come altogether to £5 15s. 11d.

A few of the items in the inventory, such as farm stock, may be compared with the prices of similar things recorded about the same time at Gawthorpe (Lancashire) and other places further south, where they were generally higher.* Judging from these, the conclusion one would come to is that the values here assigned for purposes of administration are decidedly, if not absurdly, low. And this seems to apply, generally speaking, throughout the inventories which I have examined.

Richard Hardy of Casterton, son and heir of James, died only nine years later than his father, and was buried at Kirkby Lonsdale, October 5, 1605. His will is in much the same shape as his father's. He directs that he shall be buried "with his ancestors," and that his tenement shall go to his eldest son James. To each of his two younger sons, Edward and John, he gives 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.), and charges the total upon the two "grasses" which he has bought for that price in "the Fell Close." [A grass (also called a beast-gate) was the right to pasture a beast on a common or enclosed field. Here it was probably a stinted pasture field belonging to the lord of the manor.] If James failed to pay his brothers' legacies they were to have the grasses subject to their paying all dues to the King's Majesty for the same. Casterton, as already explained, was one of the two Crown manors in Kirkby Lonsdale.

* See the *Shuttleworth Accounts* (quoted above) and J. E. Thorold Rogers's *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*.

Another clause is significant of the careful character of the testator and also of the scarcity of money amongst his class. He directs that his son James (then only about twenty-three years of age) is for four years to have no benefit from the inheritance but "meat and clothes according to his state" at the discretion of four friends, who are named as supervisors, "because I would have my debts discharged fully and truly." He gives all his goods, moneys, and moveables to his wife and daughter.

He appends a list of his debts, which again contains a touch or two of character: To William Rondson (? Ronaldson or Rollinson) £10, to be paid at Candlemas next as may appear by a bond; To the wife* of Roland Rigg £3 13s. 4d., to be paid the next Whitsuntide as may appear by a bill; To James Crosfield, of Kirkby Lonsdale, £4 5s. "in respect of a bargain of wool, and for other little reckonings I refer them to his good discretion"; To Christopher Harling 9s.; To William Jackson, "as I should remember, about the sum of 3s."; To Thomas Garnet, of Casterton, 4s. 6d. "and for one crook [door hinge] to a house"; "For any account or reckoning between William Moore, Nicholas Gibson and myself, I refer them to their setting down."

This shows a state of indebtedness amounting to some £20 or more, which may well have made a man somewhat anxious, the whole of whose goods and chattels immediately available for the purpose were valued at £33 18s., and who had in hand no coin whatever.

Returning now to Barbon from Casterton, we may

* "Wife" is probably used here as we should use "widow."

take the will, dated May 28, 1605, of Agnes Hardy, the widow, it seems, of a son of Peter Hardy, who heads one of the Barbon branches enumerated in our first chapter. Although the inventory of her effects shows that she was carrying on a farm on a largish scale, this must have been only under her widow-right ; and consequently her will is entirely concerned with personal chattels and is rather a curious document.

She gives to each of her godchildren 12d. ; to each of the four children of her son-in-law, Richard Segswicke (Sedgwick), an ewe and a lamb ; and to each of her servants, William Garsdale and Helen Whitehead, a sheep.

Her eldest son John is naturally to have all husbandry gear and all timber, including wheel timber and other wood, but wood fit for cooper-wood and cooper-wood already "hagged" (cut in pieces) she gives to her daughter Elizabeth.

There is then an elaborate distribution of bedstocks and bedding, chests, brass pots, etc., between the children John, William, and Elizabeth. John naturally is to have the racken-crook, tongs, "counter-dish-board" (probably the prototype of the modern dresser), and all chairs and stools in the house, but he is to make his brother William "a new chiste of the best and largest boordes in the house and furnish the same with good jemmers [hinges, gimmers] and a locke."

To her daughter Isabel she only gives "the gowne I left at Ingmyre (in the adjoining parish of Sedbergh), if she list to wear it." But she is probably the same as "Richard Segswicke his wife," who is to have 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.), and Ingmyre was probably her

home. Other gowns, including one given to the testatrix by her sister Helen, are given to her sisters Isabel and Elizabeth. Her sister Mabel is to have her "best linen cross-cloth," her niece Alice Moore a cross-cloth, a bend (riband or band probably for a cap), and a pair of gloves. (A cross-cloth was worn across the forehead under the cap.) She gives to her "neighbour Edward Baynes wife and Edmond Hardye wife the one of them a coller and the other a cross-cloth."* To her niece Jennett Hardy a work-day hat, a collar, a bend, and a garden smock, and to a friend Julyen, whose surname is difficult to decipher, she makes a similar bequest, substituting for the smock "a pare of shoes of lynsey wolsey." Her daughter Elizabeth is to have the rest of her attire including her side-saddle.

She then names nineteen "poor householders of Barbon," to each of whom she gives half a peck of bigg. Amongst these is Anthony Hardy, who comes into our pedigree as the son of Edmond's wife, who has just been mentioned as a legatee. Taking bigg at 28s. the quarter, the highest price recorded at Worksop from 1583 to 1603,† half a peck would be worth something less than 6d., or say half a crown in modern average value.

The value of the good lady's farm stock and personal effects (including four silver spoons valued at 13s. 4d. the set—they must have been large ones, as they were

* Edward Baynes was the scribe who prepared this and many other of the local wills. Edmond Hardy, whose wife (or, as we should read it, widow) is here named, is at the head of our Edmond and Anthony pedigree. Notice the omission of the possessive "s" in accordance with the local dialect.

† J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Hist. Agriculture*, Vol. VI, p. 18.

furnished "with rings and crooks," to hang them by, as I presume) amounted to £87 18s. 6d., besides £20 9s. 3d. in debts, including £14 due on mortgage from Geoffrey Hardy, who was one of the "poor householders." The scarcity of money in the dales is again curiously illustrated by the list of the testatrix's creditors. To William Garsdale she owed £4 15s. 4d., besides 56s. for two years' wages, and to her other servant Helen Whitehead 13s. 4d. To her sister and three children she owed about 20s. each. With regard to Garsdale's wages, which seem ridiculous compared with labour at 5s. a week, the price about 1583-1600,* it must be assumed he received in addition board and lodging gratis. He was evidently something more than a mere servant, for on the death of Agnes Hardy's eldest son John in 1611 we find him again mentioned. John gives him, besides an ewe sheep, two closes of land and "the chamber he lieth in" for his life, subject to a nominal yearly rent of 4d., and provides for his purchasing a share of a cow and a sterck (a young bull, bullock, or heifer) in which he and the testator were partners.

* Rogers, *Agriculture*, Vol. V, p. 826.

CHAPTER IV

ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS FROM WILLS, ETC., 1550-1650

HAVING now dealt with a few cases typical of a statesman's position as a whole, I will give in chronological order some short extracts from wills and inventories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in order to fill up the picture, as it were, with various more or less curious details. There are very few records, perhaps not more than half a dozen, in the Richmond Archdeaconry collection, dated before the second half of the sixteenth century, which relate to Lonsdale. An interesting selection from the records prior to this period is comprised in Vol. XXVI of the Surtees Society's publications, edited by James Raine, junr. (1853), but they almost without exception relate to people whose circumstances were very different from those of the Westmorland statesmen.

1551, February 4.—ADAM MYDLETON of Lupton gives directions that he is to be buried in "my parish church of Lonesdall," and bequeaths to "the poor man's box at the said church 12 pence"; also to Sir Robert Applegarth, curate of Kirkby Lonsdale, 3s. 4d., and to Sir Robert Dodshone, clerk, 12 pence, desiring them in their prayers to "commend my soul to the mercy of God." It will be noticed that this is in the reign of Edward VI. The form of probate endorsed is unusual, being in the name of the King as "Supreme Head of the Church."

1567, January 20.—ROBERT GIBSON, parson of Staveley (near Windermere), is to be buried in his parish church of Staveley “before myne owine stawll in the choir.” . . . “I will that, the day of my buriall, be geven a penny or half-penny, and all that offers to have a dyner.” One’s reluctance to leave unmentioned the quaint charity of Sir Robert must be our apology for assuming his connection with Barbon on the strength of his name of Gibson.

1571, May 20.—Amongst the debts of JOHN HARDY of Barbon, annexed to the inventory of his effects, are “The chapel, 25s.” and “The bridge, 22s. 4d.” This was probably the pack-horse bridge at Beckfoot, which we shall refer to later, not the road bridge in Barbon village, the upper or “over” bridge, for the amendment of which there is a legacy of 20s. in the will of Leonard Stockdale, dated in the year 1569, which we shall also refer to below. In any case, the expression “over bridge” is an indication of at least two bridges being at this time in existence. Nor is it unlikely that the Barbon beck was then also crossed by a third. Hodge Bridge, as it now actually exists, probably only dates from the construction of the present coach-road to Sedbergh, which crosses the beck half-way between the other two; but a “Hodge Brigg” is mentioned in the enfranchisement deed (already quoted) of 1718. This was probably also a pack-horse bridge alongside a ford, of which traces still remain near the spot, and was part of a highway from Barbon to Hawkin and other houses in that direction. The coach-road as such was probably constructed about 1780-90. The earliest evidence of its existence which I have discovered is a map, No. 67,

in the second volume of Paterson's *British Itinerary* of 1785, but it is not mentioned in the book itself nor in any edition of Paterson's *Roads* before the twelfth (1799). It is then given as part of the road from Lancaster to Sedbergh. In the next edition (1803) it appears as part of the road from London to Kirkby Stephen, which had hitherto been by a rather longer route through Kendal. The original way up our side of the dale must have been more or less along the line of the higher road from Casterton which passes through Barbon village.

If the mention of the "over bridge" in Leonard Stockdale's will points to a respectable antiquity, it is probably but modern compared with the still surviving pack-horse bridge at Beckfoot, or with the bridge across the Lune near the end of the three or four miles of road which lie between Barbon and Kirkby itself. Than this bridge there is no work of man in Lonsdale more worthy of the surrounding loveliness of which Nature in that valley has been lavish. As its origin goes back no one knows how far beyond the Edwardian age, so may it be that no one will ever know the end of its days !

1573, March 17.—The will of AGNES BOUSKELL, widow of Giles Bouskell of Casterton, contains a bequest to the son of one of her friends of "one jacke [leather jacket], one salet [a kind of helmet], with a tow [two]-handyd sworde." Besides this the only mention of arms or armour I have discovered amongst the Lonsdale statesmen is in an undated inventory, apparently of about the year 1600, of the goods of Thomas Bouskell of Barbon. This contains his sword and dagger, valued at 10s., with his saddle and bridle

at 4s. The Bouskells were connected by marriage with the Stephen Hardy branch.

1577, June 10.—MATTHEW STOCKDALE of Barbon, brother of Leonard, already mentioned, directs that his wife and his eldest son William Stockdale shall have all his lands during the widowhood of his wife, and “if they cannot agree to dwell together, which God forbid,” they are to abide the award of four of their nearest friends as to a division. The three younger sons are given 20 nobles (£6 13s. 4d.) each, and the three daughters on marriage £20 each. All the children are “to have meat and drink and come and go to my house until such time as they shall come to succour [means of livelihood].” . . . “To every one of my god-children whom I have christened a lamb.”

1579, March 5.—The inventory of ROLAND HARDY’S effects seems to indicate some rather complicated situation under an intestacy, and the difficulty of a division due to the scarcity of a medium of exchange. It includes “His part of a chest . . . His part in a silk hat and other gear . . . 3 quarters of seed due to him of his uncle Robert Hardy and John Hardy . . . 10 pecks of bigg seed due to him from the same.”

1586, July 14.—JOHN MYDLETON of Lupton directs his wife and his son Arthur “to dwell together as long as they can agree; the house I dwell in to be equally divided between them, my wife to have the south end.” He gives to the free school of Kirkby Lonsdale 3s. 4d. His best horse is valued at £4 (a high price), and two old horses at £1 6s. 8d.

1598, April 1.—JOHN HARDY of Barbon, who had no children and left personal estate of the value of

£118 9s. 8d., gave to his sister two whyes (heifers) of the mild sort—neither of the best nor the worst ; to the inhabitants of Barbon towards maintenance of God's service at our chapel 40s. ; “ to little Robert Ustonson when loose of his apprenticeship 3s. 4d.” ; “ to Alice my maidservant two ewes ; to each of my manservants a sheep.” This seems to be the John Hardy in respect of whose tenement Sir Richard Shuttleworth received, as already mentioned, a fine of nine years' rent on the change of tenancy by the tenant's death.

1599, January 11.—The funeral expenses of GEORGE HARDY of Carnforth in the neighbouring parish of Warton, Lancashire, a cousin of the Hardys of Barbon, amounted to 21d. He is described as a webster (weaver), and is one of the few instances in these early wills of a member of the family venturing into business. But the inventory of his effects, of which the total value was £8 3s. 4d., shows that he was still partly dependent on the soil for his livelihood. He had 3 head of cattle, 3 sheep, and poultry, worth £1 0s. 4d. ; barley (at 1s. per peck), with hay, hemp, etc., worth £1 4s. 10d. ; while his looms and heddles are put down only at 10s. However, it seems from later records that one of his sons continued in the same occupation, and there are traces of the family at Carnforth as late as 1720.

In connection with the small sum paid for funeral expenses, it may be mentioned that in this part of Westmorland it seems to have been not unfrequent even at the beginning of the eighteenth century to bury without a coffin. It is said that the ancient custom was suppressed by the admonitions of the Rev.

William Crosby, who was Vicar of Kendal from 1699 to 1734.*

1601, May 16.—At the burial of ROBERT HARDY the younger of Barbon, whose effects were worth £60 14s. 8d., but who seems to have left no will, there were paid 15s. to the chapel, 5s. to the poor of Barbon, and £1 1s. 8d. to “the officer and summoner and for mortuary.” The mortuary was a customary gift to the parish church. The summoner was an officer, probably of the Archdeaconry Court, who had to find the person to whom should be entrusted the administration of the estate.

1605, May 16.—PETER HARDY of Mansergh, a township adjoining Barbon, who had no children, gives his tenement to his niece Jennett Hardy on condition that “she shall be ruled by her father, Richard Moore, and Edward Baines, my good friends, in choosing a husband.” To each of his god-children a lamb; Christabel his wife to have one cow, viz. “the brocked [parti-coloured] cow,” besides her half of his goods. “I earnestly request my good landlord, Mr. Brabyn, not to admit my niece nor him that shall marry her tenant of my tenement but under the conditions of my will.” . . . “I will the almerie and the chist in the sellar shall remain at the house as heir-looms,” my wife to have the use of them during widowhood.

The niece Jennett was apparently identical with the niece to whom Mrs. Agnes Hardy bequeathed a work-day hat and a garden smock. No trace of her marriage

* *Manners and Customs of Westmorland*, “by a Literary Antiquarian” [John Gough], reprinted in 1847 from the Kendal Chronicle of 1812.

appears in the parish registers, which perhaps is not surprising if she attempted to follow the procedure laid down in Uncle Peter's will. Mr. John Ward was, of course, of Rigmaden, where his family had been seated so far back as the time of Edward III. It is on the opposite side of the Lune facing Middleton.

1605, January 15.—EDWARD MIDLTON of Deepdale-head in the parish of Dent in Yorkshire, immediately adjoining Barbon, gave by his will to his eldest son Richard "my man's seat or rowme in the church," and to his daughter "Isabel, Christopher Willan wife," and his daughter-in-law Sibell (wife of Richard) two "woman's rowmes" equally between them, "being both together in one place or form," Sibell's seat to go to her son Edward after her death. I venture to think this testamentary gift of a church seat is somewhat rare, especially in the will of a simple yeoman. But it is well known that at this time the appropriation of seats to families or individuals had become recognised ;* and one can see in such cases as this, where the same little property descended from father to son for many generations, how easily the theory (since sanctioned by law) might arise, that the right to the seat or pew must be appurtenant to a certain dwelling in the parish, and so could be based on prescription without evidence of its actual origin. The separation of the sexes, a very ancient custom, was the rule till much later.† It seems odd that the testator should direct a woman's seat to be afterwards occupied by her son. Perhaps there was a system of exchange.

1135612

1608, January 20.—GEOFFREY HARDY, one of the

* Heales, *Hist. and Law of Church Seats*, Vol. I, p. 101.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 138.

poor householders of Barbon mentioned by Mrs. Agnes Hardy, apparently died a violent death, as in his widow's account of her administration she enters : " For the Crowner 13s. 4d." But it seems the " crowner's 'quest " was not occasioned by a case of suicide, as his burial is entered at Kirkby Lonsdale in the usual way. His effects were valued at £33 8s. 6d., and his debts, including £3 due to our ancestor Anthony Hardy, another " poor householder," amounted to £23 2s. He had four children, of whom the eldest was only twelve years old, and consequently his widow had to give a bond with two sureties in £40 for their education, with meat, clothing, etc., during minority. Geoffrey Stockdale of Barbon, yeoman, one of the sureties, signs his name in handwriting which looks extremely respectable amongst the humble marks affixed by the other parties. The Stockdales, though cousins of the Hardys, were, as we shall see later, somewhat their superiors in wealth and station. The description " yeoman," in fact, implies that he held his land as an ordinary freeholder.

1608, June 28.—In the will of GEORGE MYDDLETON of Lupton : " And for my son John, I protest he hath had his portion sevenfold and more in charges I have been at for him, and therefore I will assign him no more portion of my goods."

1618, November 14.—The personal effects of JOHN MIDDLETON of Aykrigg End, Lupton, amounted to the large sum of £190 1s. 4d., including one item very rare in the dales, " gold and money, £10." Twelve stone of wool is valued at £6, and debts due to the deceased amount to £61 8s. 4d. He died intestate, leaving a widow and two sons, and the latter being under age

the widow filed in the ecclesiastical court a carefully prepared account of her administration. The value of the personal estate after all deductions, which include £5 for funeral expenses and 10s. for mortuary, is £223 19s. 8d. The division of this balance illustrates rather neatly the state of things before the passing of the statute of Charles II for the distribution of intestates' effects. Under that Act the personalty would be divisible equally between the widow and two sons, notwithstanding that the elder son had succeeded to the land as heir-at-law. The account does, in fact, show a division into three equal parts. One third is retained by the widow ; another third, less 11s. 8d. for his " tuition " (probably an official fee), is assigned to the younger son ; and the remaining third is called " the deathes parte." This the widow prays may be divided between her and the younger son, John, Arthur the elder " being preferred [advantaged] by land worth £20." It seems from an endorsement on the inventory that this was sanctioned by the court.

1641, February 4.—JOHN CONDER, as appears by his father's record in 1636, had inherited an unusually large estate in Kirkby Lonsdale, whence he had migrated into Ingleton, an adjoining part of Yorkshire. His wife had predeceased him, leaving him three children all under age at his death. In these circumstances, whether according to feudal principles or otherwise, the duty of administering the personal estate was entrusted to the lord of the manor of Ingleton, Mr. Robert Lowther, who gives to the Court a bond for £400 as security for due administration, his sureties being Sir John Readman (*Redmayne, alias*

Redman, lord of the manor of Thornton, which adjoins Ingleton) and Mr. John Middleton of Middleton Hall (lord of the manor of Middleton in Kirkby Lonsdale). Conder probably had property in all three manors. The seals on the bond are impressed respectively with six annulets (3, 2, and 1), a hand, and a monogram of J.M.

Robert Lowther, by the arms on his seal, was of a branch of Lowther of Lowther, a family too well known to want further mention here. This branch had held the manor of Ingleton for two or three generations.* Sir John Redman was the father of Major John Redman, a staunch royalist, who was the owner of Thornton Hall when it was blown up by Cromwell, and whose tomb is in Thornton Church.† The arms of Redman were gules, three cushions ermine, tasselled or.‡ A red hand (whence the seal) was, I presume, only a badge. The race was an ancient one scattered widely in these parts.§ Of the Middletons of Middleton Hall we have more to say below. Their arms were argent, a saltire engrailed sable.

* Balderston, *Ingleton*, p. 95.

† H. Speight, *Craven*, etc., p. 264; Balderston, *Ingleton*, p. 101.

‡ Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, Vol. I, pp. 22 *et seq.*

§ See *The Redmans of Levens*, by W. Greenwood, F.S.A. SCOT.

CHAPTER V

HARDYS OUTSIDE WESTMORLAND

BEFORE leaving the subject of Barbon families in general, it may be remarked that such pedigrees as can be traced from parish registers and local wills are necessarily confined almost entirely to the head of the family and his immediate descendants. In such a primitive state of things as prevailed in Westmorland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—and indeed long after—there was little or no scope in one's native place for any expansion or change of fortune. The history of a family of statesmen is mainly the history of the descent from generation to generation of the few paternal acres which formed a homestead for a single household. To this the eldest son succeeded, while his brethren received sums of money which would take them in search of an occupation, perhaps the same as or perhaps different from that of their ancestors, into a part of the kingdom which, though not distant according to our modern notions, was then practically beyond the reach of all ordinary communications.

Kirkby Lonsdale, as it seems from the *Itinerarium Angliæ*, Ogilby's great route-book with maps and elaborate descriptions of the principal roads, published in 1675,* was only accessible by a road which led

* The original title seems to have been *Britannia, Volume the First*, etc.

nowhere else. He gives no account of this road beyond mentioning the point at which it branches out of the main road from Lancaster to Settle and York. By this branch road, which follows the left bank of the Lune, Kirkby Lonsdale is eight miles from Hornby or eighteen from Lancaster. Going in the opposite direction one leaves the main road at Clapham, whence the distance is eleven miles, or from Skipton eighteen ; but this road is not noticed by Ogilby, and was, I suspect, in his time little better than a bridle-track across the moors. Beyond Kirkby the road now continues in a north-westerly direction to Kendal, a distance of twelve miles, of which the first eight are engineered along a winding course over what is still to a large extent a wild and rugged district of moor and fell. This road was made under a Turnpike Act of 1753 (26 Geo. II, cap. 86), before which the route must have been for the most part a mere track for pack-horses. The Milnthorpe road dates from 1824.

But Barbon lay on the other side of the Lune. To reach it you would leave the road from Hornby at Kirkby Lonsdale Bridge, and, without crossing the river or going into Kirkby at all, follow for three miles now a track, now a narrow lane, parallel with the left bank along the side of Casterton Fell. Beyond this, that is to the north and east, was the wilderness indeed. The road from Carlisle to Newcastle is the only one noticed by Ogilby which would cross a bee-line of 115 miles drawn from Kirkby Lonsdale to Berwick-on-Tweed. Even in the hey-day of posting* there was but one other mail-coach road, that going from Penrith to Greta Bridge, between our dale and a district which in

* See for instance Paterson's *Road Book* of 1824.

the middle of the seventeenth century was the happy hunting-ground of the moss-troopers of the Border.

Thus of the natives who left Barbon to earn their livelihood elsewhere there must have been few who did not bid a long farewell to their kith and kin. In a very few generations the descendants of a man thus placed out of touch with his home would naturally lose all trace of their ancient family connections, and perhaps not the less readily because he had been favoured by good fortune in his new surroundings. It may therefore be conjectured that a large number of the Hardys who have flourished in various parts of the country, especially in the North of England, are descendants of the Barbon or Casterton statesmen—a race of whose existence they have never heard.

Of course, the name itself is no indication of kinship. It may have originated independently as a surname in any number of individuals not living in the same community. There is the Wessex family, for instance, of which Admiral Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy, the friend of Nelson, and it is also to be supposed the famous writer, are illustrious members. They were probably of the same origin as the Hardys of Toller Welme and elsewhere in Dorsetshire,* whose pedigree appears in the heralds' visitations of 1565 and 1677, and whose arms were sable, on a chevron between three escallops or three wyverns' (or dragons') heads of the field. There is not the least ground for supposing that this family had any connection with the North of England. It is said to be descended from one Clement

* See Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, Vol. IV, pp. 433 and 502, and J. Bertrand Payne, *Armorial of Jersey*. The family became extinct in the male line in the eighteenth century.

le Hardi, bailiff of Jersey. This, though resting on doubtful authority, is not inherently improbable, but it is worth pointing out that the name is not by any means to be taken as a necessary indication of French or Norman origin. As a surname in England, and distinctly as a family surname (not a mere personal nickname), it is probably as old as any. It occurs as such (mainly in the Eastern Counties*) several times in the Hundred Rolls, a survey of the royal demesnes, which was made about 1273, but which contains, by the bye, no record of Westmorland. At this time family surnames, which were not in use before the Norman Conquest, had become fairly common, though not by any means universal; but the word "hardy," though an adaptation from the French, and down to the fifteenth century commonly written in the French form "hardi," had been incorporated in the English language at least half a century earlier.† It is therefore quite unnecessary to suppose that as a name it was brought into England from France or Normandy or elsewhere. The spelling in the Hundred Rolls confirms its English origin. It is far more often "Hardy" than "Hardi," and the distinctly French form "le Hardi" does not occur at all.

One of the best-known individuals bearing our patronymic in modern times was Gathorne Gathorne-Hardy, first Earl of Cranbrook, whose life has been written by his son, the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy. The latter states that there is a tradition in the family that they came from Ireland, though he does not seem to regard it with much faith, and he lays some stress

* Whence comes Sir H. H. Cozens-Hardy, Master of the Rolls.

† See the *New English Dictionary* (Oxford).

on the fact that his father knew very little of his ancestry, never having seen his grandfather, John Hardy, who founded the family fortunes and died in 1806. Beyond this the only facts ascertained are that the said John Hardy and his father William (born 1715) were natives of Horsforth, near Leeds, where the father of William, also named John and described as a "labourer," was living in 1670.*

Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling† in her account of the Spencer-Stanhope family of Cannon Hall and Low Hall, Horsforth, gives some confirmation of the Irish tradition. She states that one John Stanhope, who distinguished himself by taking the opposite side to his father in the disputes between King Charles and the Parliament, went to Ireland, whence he had to fly for his life in consequence of the rising against the Protestants in 1641. He was assisted in his flight by a faithful servant named Thomas Hardy, who, dying at Horsforth in 1683, left many descendants in that place. Amongst them were the above-named William Hardy (born 1715) and his son John (1745-1806). They were both in the law and employed by the Stanhopes, and the latter was their steward at Cannon Hall and Horsforth. Mrs. Stirling quotes a manuscript of John Spencer-Stanhope written in 1836. In this the writer, who knew John Hardy personally as his father's steward, refers to him as descended from the Irish servant of one of his ancestors, in devotion to whom he (the servant) had left his native country.

This Irish tradition is not altogether irreconcilable

* *Gathorne Hardy, First Earl of Cranbrook*, Vol. I, pp. 9-11.

† *Annals of a Yorkshire House* (1911), Vol. I, pp. 164-166, 256; Vol. II, pp. 75-86.

with the supposition of a Lonsdale origin. It is known that at least two of the most important families in Kirkby Lonsdale, the Manserghs of Mansergh Hall and the Otways of Becksides, about the beginning of the parliamentary troubles sold their estates and migrated to Ireland.* Many people of less consequence probably went with or followed them, and amongst these may have been one of the Hardys. It is true this would scarcely agree with Thomas Hardy being descended from a Lonsdale emigrant and thus a *native* of Ireland, as he must have been born at least ten years before the rising in 1641, and there is no probability of a migration from Lonsdale earlier than the régime of Strafford, which began in 1632. We must therefore suppose he himself migrated to Ireland not long before 1641, and that the tradition as recorded in 1836 is slightly in error. A man who was known to have had a home in Ireland would naturally get to be spoken of as a native.

It is also worth mention as a fact suggestive of some connection between the remoter Cranbrook Hardys and Westmorland that the mother of the first Lord Cranbrook, Isabel, wife of John Hardy, Recorder of Leeds and M.P. for Bradford, came from a family resident in Lonsdale for two generations. Her father, as appears from a tombstone in Kirkby Lonsdale churchyard, was Richard Gathorne, son of the Rev. Miles Gathorne, and her sister Eliza was the wife of John Moore of Grimeshill, the representative through an ancestress of the Middletons of Middleton Hall, and a descendant in the male line of one of the oldest families in the parish. The mother of Richard

* E. Conder, *Kirkby Lonsdale Parish Registers*.

Gathorne was Isabel Preston of Kirkby Lonsdale, where she was married to Miles Gathorne, November 8, 1725, and where Richard was baptised August 31, 1729. The entry describes Miles as curate of Kirkby Lonsdale. Richard Gathorne was buried there May 20, 1786. The family were no doubt connected with Edward Gathorne of Old Hutton (between Kendal and Lonsdale), whose daughter, Mrs. Sarah Nicholson, was buried at Kendal in 1781, aged 71,* and John Gathorne of Burton-in-Kendal, buried there in 1773, aged 64.† The family name is doubtless identical with that of the manor of Garthorn or Gaythorne Hall in the Westmorland parish of Crosby Ravensworth, referred to in 1671 by Sir Daniel Fleming in his *Description of Westmorland* as "Gawthorne, a good house belonging to Allan Bellingham of Over Levens in this County, Esquire."‡

* E. Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, Vol. II, p. 48.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 161.

‡ Printed by the Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Arch. Soc., p. 24.

CHAPTER VI

ROLAND HARDY

OF the nine contemporary branches of the Hardys, whom we enumerated at the outset as already planted in Kirkby Lonsdale in the middle of the sixteenth century, one of the most flourishing seems to have been the branch of Roland Hardy, who was baptised as the son of John Hardy on November 18, 1543. He held three "states," or to give them the old and more correct name, three tenements. That on which he dwelt was at Beckfoot ; the others were " at Mansergh Hall " and at Terry Bank, both in Mansergh township.

Beckfoot, or to be more exact, Barbon-beck-foot, is the point, as the name implies, at which the Barbon beck, having descended from the fells on the Yorkshire boundary and passed down Barbon dale and behind the village, reaches the level of the meadows bordering the Lune, which it soon joins. At this point the beck is crossed by a ford side by side with the still remaining pack-horse bridge already mentioned, and there are also what seem to be traces of the primitive works once connected with the manorial corn-mill. This spot, where there are now only two farm-houses adjoining the north side of the beck, goes by the name of High Beckfoot, thus distinguishing it from another spot about half a mile further south called Low Beck-



THE PACK-HORSE BRIDGE AT BARBON-BECK-FOOT

foot, which is near the junction with the Lune of two little becks descending from Barbon Low Fell. Here are now only three or four cottages, but within living memory there were other buildings, including a mill and a dwelling-house of considerable size, since removed in consequence of the enlargement of Underley Park.* Beckfoot, at least in modern parlance, applies to all the land between these two little hamlets, or, in other words, to all the land in Barbon township bordering on the Lune; but it seems that in 1822 it had come to belong rather to the lower hamlet as the more important of the two.†

Before the construction in the latter part of the last century of the bridges in Underley Park and at Rigmaden, there were two fords across the Lune which have since gone out of use; one just above High Beckfoot, and the other nearly opposite Low Beckfoot Cottages, and we may therefore conclude that Roland Hardy's dwelling was on the site of one of the two present groups. One might be inclined to prefer High Beckfoot as the older, but at neither is there any indication of a building more ancient than the eighteenth century. By crossing the Lune at either ford a road close along the right bank is reached running direct into Kirkby Lonsdale, and thus saving a distance of a mile compared with the route through Casterton and over Kirkby Lonsdale bridge.

On this direct road, about half-way between the two fords, is a group of farm-buildings or cottages marking

* Information on this point has been supplied to me by Mr. Harrison, who has kindly shown me a plan and particulars dated in 1828, setting out the property at Low Beckfoot and also near High Beckfoot formerly belonging to his family.

† Map of the County by Greenwood.

the site of Mansergh Hall, near which was the second of Roland Hardy's possessions. The third, Terry (anciently Tyrergh) Bank, is an extent of rising ground sheltering against the south-west a group of buildings called Old Town on the old coach road from Kirkby Lonsdale to Kendal, but reached direct from Mansergh Hall by an ascent of about a mile along a steep lane and moorland track.

From some ancient title-deeds, with copies and extracts from which I have been favoured by Mr. Conder, it seems that part of the Terry Bank property, subject to a rent of 3s. 9d., had descended to Roland Hardy from his grandfather and more remote ancestors as owners by tenant-right. Other part held by a rent of 2s. 6d. was acquired by him in 1580 from his wife's sister, Isabel Allen, she having acquired a half-share of it from her uncle, James Stockdale, by deed of February 10, 1577-8, and the other half-share from her mother or her grandfather, John Stockdale. Isabel was doubtless the elder sister of Margaret, who was Roland Hardy's wife.

The Stockdales of Casterton are amongst the half-dozen which Mr. Conder recognises as the principal families in Kirkby Lonsdale in the sixteenth century. The name of Mrs. Stockdale appears as the owner of land adjoining Mr. Harrison's at Low Beckfoot in the plan of 1828 already referred to, and in the herald's visitation of 1615 there is a pedigree of Christopher Stockdale of Barbon, which, though very imperfect, purports to show that his ancestors had been in Kirkby Lonsdale for five generations or more, thus going back to about 1450. The will of Leonard Stockdale of Barbon, who died in April or May, 1569, and whose

sister Jennet was the wife of Stephen Hardy, shows him to have been in possession of a considerable amount of property and in a superior position to that of an ordinary statesman. Besides his tenement in Barbon he had lands in the adjoining parishes of Dent and Sedbergh, and also in Norfolk and Suffolk, which latter he gave to his son Christopher, who was probably identical with the Christopher living in 1615. To his son George he gave £100, and to his daughter 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), and he names Geoffrey Otway, doubtless identical with Sir Richard Shuttleworth's bailiff, as one of his friends to receive rents and keep accounts for his children. His fortune was perhaps the result of trading in cloth. There was a John Stockdale of "Mansergh Hall houses," who died apparently childless in 1581, and whose estate included in book-debts and "cloth lying good and well" the sum of "£308 or thereabout," equivalent to at least five times its amount in modern money value.

Roland Hardy, by his will dated July 26, 1588, gave his Terry Bank and Barbon properties to his eldest son Robert, who, however, seems to have died without issue in 1605, and consequently Robert's younger brother John became the owner. This John, in 1608, sold his Terry Bank property, or at least the part of it which he had inherited, to Edward Conder of Mansergh; and there was subsequently a deed confirming this, in which John Hardy's mother (then the wife of George Lindsay), George Lindsay himself, and John's wife Margaret joined, presumably to release any claim to the property on account of widow-right. John Hardy was buried December 1, 1623, and from the record of his personal estate in the Richmond

Archdeaconry Court it seems that he died leaving a wife but no children, and without making a will. Moreover, it seems tolerably clear from the parish registers that all his three brothers who are mentioned in his father's will died young. Thus on his death, subject to his wife's widow-right, the title to his landed property would pass to another branch of his family. It is probable that he had sold the Mansergh Hall property, but, as appears from the Richmond records, he was still of Beckfoot when he died, and his wife remained there till her death in 1635.* It is therefore not unlikely that the Beckfoot property held by him is the same as that held, as we shall see later, by the descendants of Edmund and Anthony Hardy, in whom we are specially interested, and that they were on his death (or ultimately) in the eldest male line traced from the nearest common male ancestor of the two branches. But of this we shall say more a little later.

It seems also not unlikely that there was a family connection which led the Conders to purchase from the Hardys the property at Terry Bank. On January 18, 1550-1, Richard Conder and Joan Hardy were married at Kirkby Lonsdale, and the Edward Conder who bought Terry Bank from John Hardy, and who had an elder brother, Richard Conder of Hawkrigg, near Terry Bank, may have been their descendant. The present Mr. Edward Conder, whom I have frequently quoted as my authority on the subject of the parish registers, is descended from his namesake the purchaser of Terry Bank, which he now owns, it having

* It seems doubtful whether she was entitled in these circumstances to the whole or only a half of the profits of the holding, but I incline to think it was the whole (see p. 21, note).

passed in the male line without a break ever since. The present house seems to have been built by the purchaser of the land immediately after his acquiring it in 1608.

On the death of John Hardy above-named it is recorded that his debts and funeral expenses exceeded his assets (exclusive, of course, of land) by £10 7s. 6d., and we have therefore some reason to look upon him as something of a spendthrift. His widow Margaret does not seem to have altogether succeeded in balancing the account, for we find at her death an inventory under date January 27, 1635, in which her effects, indoor and outdoor, are valued at £45 7s. 8d. (including a spinning-wheel, cards, and heckle—3s.), while her debts amount to £47 18s. 4d. Amongst her creditors the only Hardys are "Anthony Hardie wife" (i.e. widow) for 18s., and William Hardy for 10s. This tends to confirm the suggestion that on the death of Margaret the title to the Beckfoot property of the Roland branch passed to the Edmond and Anthony branch, of which, as we shall soon see, the head was then William, the son of Anthony.

It is, however, noteworthy that administration of Margaret Hardy's effects was granted to one "John Hardy of Barbon-beck-foot, farmer"; but, as no relationship is stated in the bond, it may be presumed either that there was some doubt as to his legitimacy as the son of John and Margaret, or that he was a distant relation of the husband's who claimed to be his heir. For, Margaret's estate being insolvent, the office of administrator would itself be a thankless responsibility, while if there was any doubt as to the heirship it would be of considerable advantage in those

days—" nine points of the law," says the proverb—to get into possession of the farm on any pretext, and defy the other claimants to make out their title.

It is not unlikely therefore that, though the administrator's title as heir was a bad one, he may have held possession for a long time ; and it may have been not till many years later, if at all, that the Beckfoot estate of the Roland Hardys came to the descendants of Edmond and Anthony. On the above supposition we may identify the administrator with John, baptised as the son of Robert Hardy, November 15, 1583, and suppose that the want of any record of his death is to be put down to the irregularities of the period of the Civil War and Interregnum ; or if, on the other hand, his paternity was in question, he may account for an entry of the baptism on November 23, 1615, of John, son of John Hardy, which appears to have been inserted without authority at some later date.

PART II

OUR PEDIGREE

"Ye good Christians, that like swallows and cuckoos love to change to more sunny hawghs, and now feed on richer pickings, turn yer thoughts for a minute to the shaws, the crofts and intacks of the north, to the strea-thecked cottages which gave ye birth."——

A bran new Wark by WILLIAM DE WOLFAT. *

* *Alias* William of Overthwaite, *alias* the Rev. William Hutton, Rector of Beetham from 1762 to 1811. His *Bran new Wark*, a tract "on good nebbberhood," written in local dialect, was printed in 1785 and edited for the English Dialect Society by Professor Skeat in 1879.

CHART PEDIGREE SHOWING MAIN LINES OF DESCENT

Generation
No. 1.

EDMUND HARDY (died 1571) =

2. ANTHONY of Barbon (1561-1610) = Elizabeth Middleton of Lupton

3. WILLIAM of Barbon (1608-1682) = Christabel

4. THOMAS (1643-1676) EDWARD of Beckfoot = Isabel Read of Barbon (1645-1710)

5. WILLIAM = Elizabeth of Park House and Ingleton (1680-1763) THOMAS = Elizabeth Flasby of Mirfield (1683-1739) ↑ JOHN = of Kirkburton (1688-1756) ↑

6. ELIZABETH = EDWARD of Sevenoaks (m. Cumming) (b. 1711) ↑ THOMAS = of Leadenhall Str. (1716-1799) ↑ JOHN = of Leadenhall Str. (1717-1804) ↑ JOSEPH = Mary of Sutton Valence (1723-1786) ↑

7. HARRIET = (m. Kingsley) (b. 1759-1823) ↑ JOSEPH (b. 1764) GEORGE = Mary Dalton (1766-1832) ↑

8. WILLIAM = JOHN = GEORGE FREDERICK = HARRIET = THOMAS LEWIS (1790-1862) ↑ (1792-1882) ↑ (1796-1883) ↑ (1798-1848) ↑ Charlesworth ADAM ↑

CHAPTER I

FIRST GENERATION : EDMUND HARDY AND HIS ANCESTORS

THE earliest ancestor with whom we can connect our pedigree by positive evidence is Edmund Hardy, whose burial is recorded on October 30, 1571. He was no doubt born before 1538, when the registers begin, and as he died only a few months after the baptism of his youngest child it may be presumed he was then comparatively young. His marriage does not appear. It probably took place in the period 1556-60, for which no records have been preserved. This would agree with the first recorded of his children's baptisms, that of Anthony on December 16, 1561. We do not know his wife's name, but we have already referred to her as having a cross-cloth bequeathed to her by the will of Mrs. Agnes Hardy in 1605, and she is no doubt identical with "the wife of Edmond Hardy, widow," whose burial is entered November 15, 1609.

Before passing to the next generation we may state what seems probable, though not proved, as to the ancestry of Edmund and his relationship to the Roland Hardys.

In the first place should be mentioned a family custom, which prevailed amongst the statesmen, of naming one of the sons, and generally the eldest, after

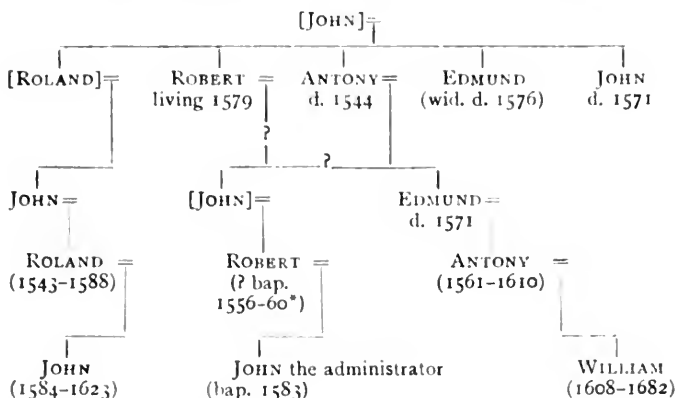
his paternal grandfather. Professor Adam Sedgwick, a famous native of Dent and a descendant of the family of which we have already named one or two individuals, speaks of this custom as continuing down to his own time.* Accordingly we may suppose that the burial of Antony on December 28, 1544, refers to the father of Edmund, he being the only Antony in the register besides Edmund's son. We also find a trace of an earlier Edmund in the burial of the "wife" of Edmund Hardy on September 27, 1576. The name of Edmund being also uncommon in the family, we may probably suppose he was the brother of the earlier Antony and the uncle after whom our ancestor, being perhaps not the first-born of his father, was named.

Antony Hardy the elder would be according to the probabilities of life contemporary with the grandfather of Roland Hardy of Beckfoot, who also owned Terry Bank, and it seems to me very probable that the two grandfathers were brothers. It seems clear from various wills and inventories of the Roland branch that the grandfather of Roland had two brothers, Robert and John. The latter is probably identical with John Hardy, who was buried May 21, 1571, and from whose inventory, dated the previous day, we have already quoted. He seems to have had only one son, Roland, who died in 1563, aged six. The inventory is made by Matthew Stockdale, Edmund Hardy, and John Hardy. Edmund, according to our theory, would be his nephew, the son of his brother Antony. John might be another nephew, either the son of Robert or an elder son of Antony. In either case he would fit in as the father of Robert and grandfather of

* *Memorial by the Trustees of Cowgill Chapel* (1868), p. 52.

John, baptised in 1583, who, as we have supposed, claimed the heirship of the Beckfoot property on the death of Margaret Hardy in 1635.

The father of the five brothers, according to the grandfatherly custom, would presumably be John, and the grandfather of Roland would be Roland also. Thus the pedigree would take the following shape :



The claim of John, the administrator to the heirship of the Roland branch, as against William, would then be good : first, if he were descended from Robert, and Robert were older than Antony ; or, secondly, if he were descended from Antony, and his grandfather were older than Edmund. This is a good illustration of the difficulty that attended a question of title in the days when the common evidence of birth was the parish register, which in no case went further back than 1538.

* The gap in the registers for this period would account for this baptism not being recorded.

CHAPTER II

SECOND GENERATION : ANTHONY HARDY

THE parish register shows the following baptisms of the children of Edmund Hardy :

Anthony, December 16, 1561.

A son (unnamed), April 17, 1563.

Alice, April 11, 1565.

Helen, November 30, 1570.

Of these we have no further record except of Anthony. He married December 19, 1601, Elizabeth Middleton, and was buried, like his father, after a short connubial career, on July 28, 1610. He was no doubt the "poor householder" who was given by Agnes Hardy half a peck of bigg.

Elizabeth his wife was the daughter of William Middleton of Lupton, a township in the extreme west of the parish, and therefore somewhat remote from Barbon. His marriage is recorded without the name of his wife on November 12, 1563, and his daughter Elizabeth was baptised October 28, 1572. From the Middleton wills and inventories quoted above and some others, it seems that there was more than one branch of the Middleton family—or perhaps it would be more correct to say simply more than one Middleton family—then flourishing at Lupton, and they were there at least a century later. William, above-named, was buried September 12, 1580, leaving his wife Isabel with two sons and four daughters, of whom the eldest

was not more than fifteen, and the youngest were twins aged about a year and a half.*

By his will dated April 11, 1580, "William Medleton," as the scribe calls him, charges a sum of £3 6s. 8d. on his tenement in favour of his younger son John. Stephen is to have at twenty half the tenement, which is to remain in his mother's hands till then, and she is to have the other half during widowhood. Stephen is to have the husbandry gear and two great arks, and the rest of the goods are to be divided between the other children. The wife Isabel is executrix, and Robert Burrow and Anthony Burrow, probably her brothers, are appointed supervisors along with Adam Middleton and George Middleton. The total of the inventory, which contains the ordinary articles of farming and household stock, is £55 10s. The widow Isabel survived her husband upwards of thirty-two years, dying in February, 1613. Her will is as follows: To my son Stephen Middleton's children, 10s.; to my son-in-law Matthew Faucitt's children, 10s.; to my daughter, Matthew Faucitt's wife, 20s.; to my daughter Elizabeth Hardy and her children, a stirke; and to my son John Middleton, 20s. To her two youngest daughters, the twins, Joan and Isabel, she gives all the rest she has to dispose of. No doubt they were her chief assistants in carrying on the half-share of the farm which she had held since Stephen came of age. As may be conjectured from the following inventory of her effects dated February 23, 1613, the dairying department was the scene of most of their

* The baptisms of Stephen and the eldest daughter probably took place during the period 1566-1570, for which the register is a blank. The others (including William, who was buried within ten days of his baptism) are duly registered in the years 1571, 1572, 1575, and 1578.

labours. The stock of cheese, valued in round figures at 10 marks, must according to current prices, say 1½d. per lb. (which is probably more than it was put at for probate purposes), have amounted in quantity to 1200 lb.*

The valuers are Arthur Middleton, Arthur Burrow, Edmund Middleton, and John Middleton. The last was probably her younger son, and perhaps identical with John of Aykrigg End, who died in 1619 as above mentioned. Stephen, whom I have not succeeded in tracing further, may have died without issue. There is still a farm at a spot called, on the Ordnance map, Aikrigg Green in Lupton. It must have been a bleak moorland region before the modern roads and plantations came into existence.

	£	s.	d.
1 horse	1	6	8
2 oxen	5	6	8
3 kine	7	0	0
5 young beasts	4	13	4
1 swine		5	0
Pullen		2	0
Cheese	6	13	4
All the crops	3	16	0
Meal and malt		16	0
All her apparel	1	0	0
Sacks, pokes, and winding-clothes [for cheese-making]		13	4
Hemp and		4	0
Brass and pewter	1	10	0
All the wood vessell		6	8
A quarter of beef [salt, of course]		5	0
Girdle and heckle		3	0
2 old arks and a chest.		3	4
Total	£34	4	4

* Rogers, *Hist. Agricult.*, Vol. VI, gives examples of the retail price in London in 1594 and 1601 as 2½d. and 2d. per lb.

As to debts it is briefly but significantly added, "nothing owen to hir or by hir."

The reader will notice that Elizabeth Hardy is singled out for a legacy in kind instead of in money, and that her stirk (presumably one of the two oxen valued together at £5 6s. 8d.) would be worth more than any of the sums given to the other children and grandchildren. May we interpret this as showing some thoughtful sympathy with the circumstances in which the widow of poor Anthony Hardy found herself at this time? As we shall see, he had left her with four little children, the eldest only seven, and the two youngest, including the son and heir, less than two years old. She survived her husband nearly forty years, being buried November 26, 1648, aged 76.

The name of Middleton is one of the most familiar, and at the same time one of the most distinguished, in the records of Kirkby Lonsdale. The Middletons of Middleton Hall were lords of the manor of Middleton for ten generations, from the time of Edward III till near the end of the seventeenth century. One is therefore tempted to enquire what relationship existed between the lords of the manor and the Middletons of Lupton. Was the wife of poor Anthony Hardy a descendant of some younger son of the Hall? The answer seems to be that it may well be so, but to prove it so would be a hopeless task.

Younger sons whose descendants are entirely unaccounted for appear numerous in the pedigree of Middleton of Middleton Hall, and to some extent this must account for the very frequent occurrence of the name at the beginning of the parish registers. It occurs, in fact, in the first twenty-five years twice as

often as Hardy. And, moreover, the calendars of the Richmond Archdeaconry Court from 1550 to 1600 contain not only a corresponding number of entries for Kirkby Lonsdale Middletons, but there are also half as many again relating to the surrounding parishes in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Now, assuming that Middleton in Lonsdale was the source of all these individuals, it by no means follows that they were derived from a common family stock; for at the period when surnames came into use (some centuries before there was any Middleton of Middleton Hall) many ordinary individuals quite unconnected with each other by birth must have adopted the place-name as the name of their family; and, as the records above referred to suggest, this would probably be most often the case when such individuals migrated from Middleton into one of the adjoining parishes or townships, where they would naturally be called "of Middleton" for want of already possessing any other patronymic.

This is, I think, enough to show the hopelessness of obtaining any definite result from the existing materials. But for the particular problem that concerns us there is another difficulty—the absence of any serviceable materials at all. Of the younger sons of the pedigree family nothing is recorded beyond the names, and we therefore cannot trace from them downwards. On the other hand, to trace from the Middletons of Lupton upwards seems equally impossible, as our first step would take us beyond the limit both of recorded wills and of parish registers. However, as it is not by any means impossible that our Lupton ancestress was after all a descendant of the lords of the manor of Middleton, it may be permissible to give some account

of that armorial family—probably in its day the most distinguished in the history of Kirkby Lonsdale.*

As we have said, they held the lordship of Middleton from the time of Edward III till near the end of the seventeenth century, when the male line failed. According to Nicolson and Burn the property was then divided between two heiresses, and the elder sold her portion, including the manor, the Hall, and the rest of the demesnes, to one Benjamin Middleton, who, notwithstanding his name, was not related to the family who had so long possessed the estate. By a mere chance, when verifying a reference to Ogilby's *Road Book* of 1675, I pitched upon a copy in the British Museum† which I have no doubt belonged to this very person. Above the frontispiece on the left is the signature "B. Middleton" in a hand fairly corresponding with the latter part of the seventeenth century, and on the right is the impression in red wax of a shield bearing a saltire engrailed, which is certainly the blazon of Middleton of Middleton Hall. This unexpected meeting with Mr. Benjamin Middleton is an odd coincidence, but the use of a seal of arms is unfortunately far from conclusive evidence of one's pedigree. Mr. Benjamin's notions on the subject may have been somewhat similar to those of a "modern major-general," who, having bought an estate which included a chapel "with its contents," maintained that the ancestors lying in the chapel were now his, and that it was within his competence as their "de-

* Our account is based on the pedigrees in the heralds' visitations of 1615 and 1664, which also seem to be the material used by Nicolson and Burn.

† *Britannia, Volume the First*, etc. The press-mark is 568. i. 10.

scendant by purchase " to bring honour or disgrace upon their escutcheon.

However this may be, Middleton Hall is now the property of the family of Moore of Grimeshill, the lineal descendants of the younger co-heiress of the Middletons of that ilk, from whom they inherited the other portion of the family estate. The Hall is now a farm-house, and in its diminished state bears testimony to the loyalty of its owners to the losing side during the Great Rebellion. Major-General John Middleton, a younger son of the house, was killed at Hopton Heath, and his two brothers Richard and Christopher also lost their lives fighting in the royal cause. Their brother William, who was a colonel in the king's army, was more fortunate, and we find him in 1664 certifying the family history on the herald's visitation of that year.

Kirkby Lonsdale, indeed, seems to have been something of a royalist hotbed. In a list of " delinquents " in Westmorland annexed to a letter to the Committee for Compounding Royalists' Estates, dated February 22, 1650, are the names of William Middleton of Middleton (no doubt Colonel Middleton above mentioned), Henry Ward of Rigmaden, Henry Wilson of Underley (the beautiful estate on the Lune between Kirkby Lonsdale and Barbon), George Buchanan, the unfortunate Vicar of Kirkby, and, amongst humbler persons, we may add, as descended from families connected by marriage with the Hardys some generations earlier, John Beck and Bridgett Bouskell.* (Was it not an Agnes Bouskell who in those days

* Committee for Compounding, etc. (Record Office Calrs.), Vol. I, p. 176.

boasted the possession of a jack, a salette, and a two-handed sword, and a Thomas Bouskell whose sword and dagger were priced at ten shillings?) In 1646 we find the then Wilson of Underley is marked down for sequestration as having served as a captain of foot under Sir Philip Musgrave of Eden Hall. Sir John Otway of Ingmire, in Sedbergh, descended from a branch of another of the old stocks in Middleton township, was ejected from his fellowship at Cambridge for refusing the Solemn League and Covenant, and "did not show less courage in the field against the sworn enemies of the kingdom than he had formerly done in the university." He received his knighthood in 1673 in recognition of his services both military and diplomatic in the war and the Restoration.* Ingmire Hall is still owned by his descendants.

Middleton Hall, according to Whitaker,† was probably built by Sir Geoffrey Middleton, who was knighted by Henry VIII, and was a major-general in that king's expedition to Boulogne in 1543. As a salaried officer in the service of the Border‡ he was evidently a most important person in the neighbourhood of Lonsdale. He was buried at Kirkby Lonsdale in 1545. Later and more accurate authorities§ date the Hall from about the middle of the fifteenth century. The domestic part of it shows the close resemblance, springing from the same early type, between the old manorial hall of the pre-Tudor period and the states-

* See the *Life of* [his friend] *the Rev. John Barwick*, by Peter Barwick.

† *Richmondshire*.

‡ Duckett, *Cumb. and Westm. Ant. Soc. Trans.*, Vol. III, p. 206.

§ *Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland*, etc., by Michael W. Taylor, p. 237; J. F. Curwen, *C. and W. Ant. Soc. Trans.* (N.S.), XII.

man's dwelling-house, as we have described it above, in the sixteenth and following centuries. After entering the outer courtyard you pass into the mell-doors or screens, which lead out again into the inner yard. On your right a door leads from the screens into the hall, and others on the left into what was once the buttery, kitchen, etc. As you advance into the hall, with its windows of stone tracery, you have behind you the fire-place, and against the opposite wall stands a great carved oak aumbry. Behind this wall is a charming withdrawing-room wainscoted with oak from floor to ceiling. At this end also are the staircase and doors leading to the modern kitchen and other offices which have taken the place of the buildings formerly looking on to the inner court.

The Middleton pedigrees in the heralds' visitations of 1615 and 1664* show their connection with many well-known north-country families, and their arms (argent, a saltire engrailed sable) may be seen displayed with various alliances in the Middleton chapel, or rather what remains of it at the north-east corner of Kirkby Lonsdale church. In this chapel is a truncated tomb with a pair of recumbent effigies, which, according to Nicolson and Burn, represent the John Middleton who died in 1580 and his wife Ann, one of the Tunstalls of Thurland Castle. This attribution is confirmed by John Middleton's will,† in which he directs that he shall be buried in "my chaunsel at Kirkby-lonsdall."

For the sake of the reader who may be interested in

* Edited by Joseph Foster (1890).

† Proved in the Richmond Archdeaconry Court, 1580.

pushing an enquiry about a possible ancestor, however doubtful the result, into the domain of royal descents, we may note here what appears to arise from a match of one of the Middletons with a daughter of the Musgraves. According to the visitation pedigrees of 1615, Thomas Middleton, the father of Sir Geoffrey, was the son of Thomas by his wife Isabel, daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave of Hartley Castle ; and Sir Richard was the son of Sir Thomas by his wife Alice, daughter of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, who was a paternal grandson of Edward III and paternal grandfather of Edward IV. He is known in history (and Shakespeare) as one of the three leaders beheaded for conspiracy against the house of Lancaster at the beginning of the reign of Henry V. It was, in fact, his son, the Duke of York, in whose name the Wars of the Roses were begun. There is, however, some doubt as to the fact of this marriage of his daughter Alice—indeed, as to the very existence of the bride—as in the pedigree of 1664 no Alice Plantagenet is mentioned. This cannot be overlooked, although the later pedigree is, on the face of it, far from perfect. The mother of Alice is said in the earlier pedigree to have been Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford, who was undoubtedly Richard Plantagenet's second wife ; but the assertion that there was any surviving issue of this marriage is contradicted by the finding at the inquisition on the death of Maud* that she had left no issue, and that consequently her heir was her brother Thomas. Nevertheless, though Alice Plantagenet does not appear in the Musgrave genealogy as generally

* *Inq. p.m. of Matilda, Countess of Cambridge* (then widow of Lord Latymer), 25 Hen. VI, No. 21.

set out,* it seems that, however the various differences between the visitation pedigrees are explained or reconciled, there must be either a gap or one " Elizabeth " (of undisclosed origin) about the place where Alice would come in ; so that after all we may conjecture that her existence was a fact, and that the reason for its being overlooked by the jury at the inquisition was a question, not always so easy to answer, as to whether she was born in or out of wedlock.

It would be no very extravagant supposition that her father should so far resemble a few others of his line as to consider one wife at a time a somewhat short allowance.

* The Musgraves would probably scarcely regard the supposed Alice as adding anything to the ancient dignity of their own descent.

CHAPTER III

THIRD GENERATION : WILLIAM HARDY, SENIOR

THE parish register records the baptisms of the following children of Anthony Hardy :

Margaret, May 5, 1603.

Elizabeth, March 20, 1605-6.

William and Isabel, December 18, 1608.

Isabel we find was buried on March 20, 1619-20, but we have no entry to show what became of either of the other daughters. This is no doubt owing to the disturbed state of things during the Civil War. The vicar, George Buchanan, was sorely persecuted by two of his Cromwellian parishioners, and actually in gaol several times ; the last for a period of three years. From March, 1642, to April, 1643, all entries are wanting. From about April, 1645, when one William Cole seems to have been intruded into the Vicarage, until the Restoration, the registers were very carelessly kept.* Thus, whatever may have been the case with the two sisters, who may or may not have married, it can scarcely be doubted that their brother William was married near the beginning of the gap between March, 1642, and April, 1643, his eldest child, as recorded, being baptised in May, 1643. Of his wife we only know that her christian name was Christabel,

* Edward Conder, *Kirkby Lonsdale Parish Registers* ; B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland*, etc., p. 1014.

and that she was buried on February 20, 1678-9. William himself, described as "William Hardy, senior,* of Barbon," followed her three and a half years later, being buried August 25, 1682.*

It will be noticed that this William did not receive at his christenings the name of his paternal grandfather Edmund, but that of his grandfather on the side of his mother. In this we may perhaps perceive a becoming submission on the part of the "poor householder" to superior family pretensions on the part of his wife. In the next generation also the paternal names are neglected, but it will be seen that on the family fortunes somewhat reviving the old custom again comes into favour.

The following curious inventory of Gaffer William's personal effects, written in a far from clerkly hand, is preserved amongst the Richmond records. The spelling, which I have reproduced *literatim*, is interesting, as echoing something of the accent of the dales :

April the 5th, 1683.

A true invatery of the goodes of Wilyam Hardy lat deceased.

	£	s.	d.
One hatt		1	4
Collr, dublet and bretches		6	4
A dublet and bretches		1	0
On[e] pare of shus and hosse		1	0
2 shirts		2	0
A bed of cloese [set of bed clothes]		6	6
One chest		2	0
In all	£1	0	2

* He was doubtless called William Hardy, *senior*, to distinguish him from another William Hardy of Barbon, whose death appears in the Richmond Archdeaconry records in March, 1699.

Theas goods prised by

Mr. ROBERT USTINSON,*

THOMAS SELME § his mark,

WILYAM W BROCKBANK, his mark,

WILYAM × PARSIVELL.

Notwithstanding the very small value of this veritably personal estate and the fact that the deceased's only surviving child, Edward, was necessarily entitled to the whole of it, a regular bond was entered into by the latter for payment of debts and due administration. Both Edward Hardy and his surety, Thomas Read, who joined in the bond, are described as of Kirkby Lonsdale. This probably means the parish, not the town; as it will be seen from what follows that they were probably both of Barbon. Read was probably Edward Hardy's brother-in-law.

The exceedingly limited nature of old William's personal estate might at first be taken as an indication of extreme misery, but, on the contrary, the true view, as I would venture to suggest, is that at something under threescore years and ten he had reached the summit of a dalesman's felicity. For though he had evidently retired from business and handed over his stock and household effects to his son and heir, he would still be master of the family estate—if there was one, and from this all his mortal wants would be amply supplied.

“How blest is he who crowns in shades like these
A youth of labour with an age of ease.”

* Presumably also the scribe.

With the loss of his wife this felicity must have been dashed, but within a few months she was in a sense replaced by a daughter-in-law, and he lived long enough to see the birth of his eldest grandson, to whom his name was given.

CHAPTER IV

THE HEARTH-TAX RETURN FOR 1670

BEFORE passing from William Hardy the elder to the next generation we may notice the glimpse afforded by the return for the Hearth Tax in Westmorland, preserved in the Public Record Office for the year 1670.* According to this document the number of hearths in the whole parish of Kirkby Lonsdale was 571, exclusive of those exempt as belonging to dwellings under the value of 20s. a year, or occupied by persons not possessed of £10 worth of goods or excused from poor-rate. The number of houses was 381, most of which had only one hearth. In the list for Kirkby Lonsdale itself there were 102 houses, with 170 hearths taxed and 19 exempt. Amongst the former we may notice in passing the school-house with two hearths, and the vicar, Mr. Hoyle's, also with two.

In Lupton there were 37 houses with 43 hearths, including William Middleton's and John Middleton's with one hearth each, and two hearths exempt.

In Middleton there were 62 houses, all taxed, with 101 hearths, including Widow Moore's with five hearths, John Middleton, Esquire's (Middleton Hall), with seven,

* Exchequer Records: Lay Subsidies for Westmorland (see Appendix II below.) The return is authenticated at Kendal quarter sessions by the Clerk of the Peace, under date January 10, 22nd Charles II (1671).

Thomas Otway's with two, and Nicholas Otway's with two and one.

In Barbon there were 36 houses with 55 hearths, all taxed, including Samuel Gibson's with one hearth and Richard Shuttleworth, Esquire's, with two.

In Casterton there were 33 houses with 44 hearths, all taxed, including William Hardy's with one.

Besides the last-named, who must, I think, be identified with our Gaffer William, there are four other Hardys in the list. In Kirkby Lonsdale there are William Hardy with three hearths and Robert with two, and in Barbon there are Robert with two and Edmund with one. The first is doubtless identical with "William Hardy of Kirkby Lonsdale" who was buried there March 21, 1696-7, and the last with "Edmund Hardy of the Town-end in Barbon" who was buried in September, 1680, and whose will was proved October 15 following. Traces of the two Roberts are not wanting in the register of baptisms, but they appear there no further.

The number of our cousins in their ancient habitat is thus seen to be much diminished, but it should be added that the Hearth Tax return probably somewhat exaggerates their paucity, for it is well known that the tax was greatly resented and the inquisitions of the official chimney-hunter were not too diligently pressed. He seems to have forgotten to enter one Richard Hardy, who appears from the parish registers to have represented the Casterton branch down to his death in September, 1679. There was also a widow Ellen Hardy "of Mansergh Hall houses" buried on June 4, 1677, but the township of Mansergh is entirely omitted from the list, and consequently the Conders

and other statesmen who appear there on the manor court-rolls in 1664* must have been let off. It seems difficult to believe that in such circumstances as then existed in country places a tax of two shillings a year per chimney can have been worth collecting. It was promptly abolished in the first year of William and Mary (1688) after being twenty years on the Statute Book.

The identity of our ancestor William with the William Hardy entered in Casterton is not open, I think, to much doubt, though the tax-collector seems to have indulgently rolled him into one with his cousin Richard. It is possible, though somewhat unlikely, that in 1670 he actually lived in Casterton township, and only came to Barbon later; for, even assuming that he ultimately died at Beckfoot (as his son Edward certainly did) we have no evidence as to when or how he acquired his home there—whether on the death of his cousin's widow Margaret in 1635 or later; whether by inheritance or purchase, or whether it was really his own or his son's. But it seems more probable that the compiler of the return, being a Crown officer and not a local constable,† did not trouble to follow the boundaries of the townships or manors, and, finding Beckfoot connected by a practicable highway with Casterton, and not with Barbon village, assigned it to the former “constable-wick” accordingly. We have already seen that there was an ancient highway from Casterton to the ford at High Beckfoot passing through Low Beckfoot, whereas from Barbon even to-day High Beckfoot is only

* According to a list supplied to me by Mr. Edward Conder, F.S.A.

† Under the Amending Act of 1664 (16 Car. II, cap. 3).

reached directly by mere footpaths, and the present lane to Low Beckfoot can scarcely be older than the eighteenth-century coach-road from which it diverges.

It may be noted here that in our Gaffer William we have the only link where it is possible to suggest a doubt in our chain of descent, as we have no confirmatory evidence of his identity with the son of Antony christened in 1608. All we can say is that the parish register contains no other baptism with which he corresponds, while on the other hand the deaths of the two other Williams, one of Barbon and the other of Kirkby, recorded in 1699 and 1697 respectively, make it extremely unlikely that either of them was born so far back as 1608. They may be easily accounted for by baptisms entered in 1619 and 1646, to say nothing of possible omissions during the Cromwellian period when the registers were imperfectly kept.

CHAPTER V

FOURTH GENERATION : THOMAS AND EDWARD HARDY

THE parish register shows baptisms of the following children of William Hardy :

Thomas, May 11, 1643.

Edward, January 9, 1644-5.

Here, as in the previous generation, the paternal line is ignored in the choice of christian names.

Thomas died in his father's lifetime, leaving a will dated November 11, 1676, and signed by the testator's mark. By this document, after commending the place of his burial to his executors' discretion, he disposes of the " little worldly estate God hath given me " as follows : To his brother Edward, £10 ; to George Rollinson, son of George Rollinson, 2s. 6d. ; to Isabel, daughter of George Woodhouse, 2s. 6d. ; to his father William and his mother " Restabell," all the rest. He appoints his father and mother executors.

The half-crown legatees were no doubt god-children. The parish register shows Isabel Woodhouse to have been at this time in her fifth year. We are therefore debarred from romancing on the supposition of a more tender relationship, our uncle Thomas, the testator, being thirty-three.

The inventory of his effects indicates that he was

not a farmer, but apparently a clothier, carrying goods from his father's farm to the market, or possibly to his shop at Kirkby. Perhaps he was also a horse-dealer.

Inventory of goods and chattels of Thomas Hardy, late of Barbon, appraised November 20, 1676, by Thomas Fawcett, Edmond Garnett, Samuel Ottway, and James Wadeson.

	£	s.	d.
In purse, apparel, bridle and saddle	4	13	4
in Wollen cloth	1	3	6
in Hempe or lininge [linen] cloth at Kirkby	1	15	0
in Cloth at Barbon		14	2
in Yarne		12	6
in Stockins		5	4
in Horses	3	0	0
One chiste		1	0
Oweing for horses to him	7	15	0
in Bonds	33	13	7
Found uncrost [not crossed out in his books, uncanceled]		7	9
In all [apparently wrongly cast]	£61	2	5

The bond for administration of Thomas's effects given by his father William and joined in by his brother Edward as a surety, is signed by both of them as marksmen, but we notice that Edward, on his father's death six years later, signs his name in a clumsy but very legible hand with the surname under the christian name, which has a superfluous "y" added to it evidently by inadvertence. He seems

then to have been making the most of his slender attainments as a scribe.

From the will of Thomas it may be inferred that whatever may have been the capacity—or want of capacity—of his father, his mother, being equally joined as executor and residuary legatee, was not a person to be ignored. We may therefore credit Edward with some prudence and patience in delaying his wedding till the ancient dame had made her last journey from Barbon to the parish church. Thence but three months later, on May 24, 1679, being in his thirty-sixth year, he brought home his bride, Isabel Reade, to take the woman's place in his father's house. In the register both bride and bridegroom are described as of Barbon. The Reades appear in the registers rarely and rather late, and there is no baptismal entry corresponding with Isabel Hardy. This may be due to the carelessness of William Cole, who, as already stated, was intruded into the Vicarage from about 1645 to 1660. There is, however, on March 27, 1657, the burial of Agnes Reade, wife of Christopher Reade of Barbon, and it is not unlikely that these were Isabel's parents.

Edward Hardy was buried at Kirkby Lonsdale on October 8, 1710, and on the 14th administration of his personal estate was granted to his son William for the use of his widow Isabella. In the administration bond Edward is described as of Beckfoot, husbandman, and William as of Barbon. From what follows I am inclined to think that William, still a bachelor, though nearly thirty, had not yet left his father's home.

The following is the inventory of the latter's per-

sonalty, dated the 12th and exhibited October 14, 1710 :

	£	s.	d.
Purse and apparel	2	10	0
Bedstocks, bedding (linen and wollen)	2	0	0
Wooden vassill, brass and pewther . .	1	10	0
Chists, arks, chaires, formes, tables, stooles and cushions	1	0	0
Scutles, ridles, sacks, pokes, and winnow- ing cloth	15	0	
Earthen vassills and iron utensils . .	9	6	
Meal, Malte, and other provision . .	1	0	0
Ploughs, harrows, ploughgeare, boards, and shilves	11	0	
Bridle, sadle, carts, cartgeere, and wheels	15	0	
Husbandry geere	10	0	
Poultry and dung-hill	5	0	
Four kine	15	0	0
Six young bease	10	0	0
Corne and hay	20	0	0
Debts owing to the decêd	35	0	0
Total*	£105	5	6

William Hardy writes his name to the administration bond in a fairly penmanlike hand.

* To make this total there is an error in casting or an omission of items to the amount of £14.

CHAPTER VI

FIFTH GENERATION : CHILDREN OF EDWARD HARDY

THESE, it seems, were as follows :

William, who was probably the eldest, as on his father's death administration of the estate was granted to him with the " tuition " (or guardianship) of his sister Agnes.

Thomas, baptised September 23, 1683.

John, baptised November 18, 1688.

Edward, buried November 7, 1692 ; and

Agnes, who, as already mentioned, was a minor, on October 14, 1710.

Neither William's, Edward's, nor Agnes's baptism is registered at Kirkby Lonsdale—why, we are unable to say, but the brotherhood of the three surviving brethren is amply made out by the evidences which follow.

This generation makes an epoch in the history of our family. William, the eldest son, who seems to have been the first of his race to be fairly able to write, continued in the traditional calling of his ancestors ; but on his father's death he married and migrated from the old home, and though his residence was no

further off than the adjoining parish it involved a change in the mode of livelihood as well as a change of scene. His younger brothers made a much more decided move. They both became clergymen, and settled down in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Their mother, and presumably their sister Agnes, were left in possession of the ancestral tenement at Beckfoot, and we shall find reason to suppose that at least the mother remained there till her death. She was buried at Kirkby Lonsdale, November 28, 1724.

§1. *William Hardy of Park House*

On January 27, 1710-11, William Hardy, being still described as of Barbon, was married at the church of Tunstal, just over the Lancashire border, to Elizabeth Flasby, who was presumably of that parish and of a family originating still further east, but not found in the registers of Kirkby Lonsdale. There is, in fact, a hamlet called Flasby in the parish of Gargrave in the West Riding, and it occurs as a family name in the will of John Middleton of Westhouse in Thornton, a Yorkshire parish adjoining Kirkby Lonsdale, dated January 16, 1613-4.*

After his marriage William Hardy lived until 1719, and perhaps later, at Park House in the parish of Tunstal. It is now a farm-house to which are attached about a thousand acres of land. It stands on the right bank of the Leck beck, a tributary of the Lune, and looks up the valley towards the fells above Barbon. To reach it there is a drive through the grounds for

* Richmond Archdeaconry Court.



PARK HOUSE, TUNSTALL, FROM THE NORTH-WEST

about half a mile from the entrance gate at Cowan Bridge, by which the Leck is crossed. These grounds are, in fact, the park belonging to, but quite detached from, the ancient castle of Thurland, once the stronghold of the Tunstals. "The park" is actually mentioned in the will of Brian Tunstal, the "Stainless Knight" of Scott's *Marmion*, made on the eve of his setting forth to die on the field of Flodden.* Early in the seventeenth century it was acquired by Edward Wilson of Low Levens, from whom it descended to his kinsman Edward Wilson of Dallam Tower, known as "Little Edward," who died at the age of eighty-nine in 1707. This Little Edward had a son known as "Long Edward" or Edward of Park House. At Park House he was born, and there he lived until the death of his father.† There is a stone let into the wall over the front door inscribed

E.W.
1676

This no doubt indicates the period of his carrying out some repairs or improvements with a view to his going into possession on his marriage, which took place the following year with Catherine, daughter of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal. The death of his father in 1707 of course led to his removing to Dallam Tower, and Park House, thus vacated, became available for

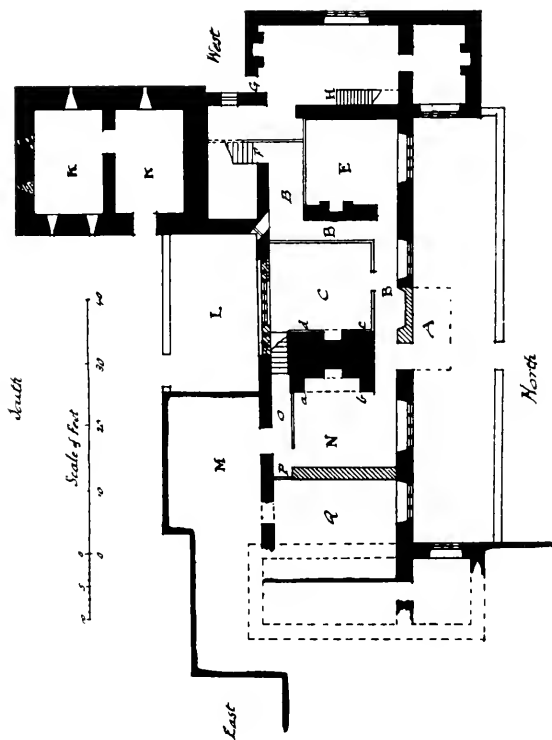
* Whitaker sets out the will in the *History of Richmondshire*. The Park is shown by an enclosure on the maps of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Westmorland in Saxton's Atlas of England and Wales, published 1579 (see Frontispiece).

† The history of the Wilson family (and incidentally of Park House) is given in the Rev. Wm. Hutton's *Beetham Repository*, a MS. edited for the Tract Series of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, by J. R. Ford (1906). See also the *Cumberland and Westmorland Visitation of 1664* (ed. Jos. Foster) and *Westmorland Church Notes*, by E. Bellasis (1888-9). Low Levens is in Heversham, and Dallam Tower in the adjoining parish of Beetham.

letting to William Hardy. That the period of the latter's residence continued from his marriage at least down to March, 1719, appears from the register of his children's baptisms at Tunstal. In 1719 the death took place of "Long" Edward Wilson, whose son and heir, Daniel, rebuilt Dallam Tower between 1720 and 1723. During the rebuilding Daniel Wilson no doubt required Park House for his own occupation.

Enough of the house is left to give a very good idea of what it originally was, and probably remained, till William Hardy's day. The plan is of the late Tudor or early Jacobean type of small manor-house, which differed from that of the medieval hall and the ordinary farm-house of later times, which we have already described, mainly in the absence of the screens or mell-doors, so that the entrance led directly into the hall. Park House was probably built at the time of the property being acquired by the Wilsons at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the epoch of the union of the two Crowns which was to make a fortified house on the Border a thing of the past. Mr. Conder's house at Terry Bank, built, as already mentioned, at the same period, is of the same type, and it occurs in a somewhat more elegant shape in Newby Hall in Morland parish, which Dr. Taylor also ascribes to the early part of the seventeenth century.* The subjoined plan of the ground floor of Park House will simplify our description, but being drawn from my own somewhat imperfect measure-

* *Old Manorial Halls of Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 103; and see *Newby Hall*, by R. M. Rigg, in *C. and W. Ant. Soc. Trans.*, XII (N.S.), p. 121.



PLAN OF PARK HOUSE

ments, it must not be taken as more than a sketch of approximate accuracy.

A. Probable position of porch. The walling shown by shading seems to have been added to form the present doorway and a recess for cloaks.

B B B. Passage formed out of the hall and withdrawing-room by modern partitions.

C. Remaining part of hall now used as a parlour. The original south windows have been partly blocked, as shown by shading, and three lights have been opened between them. The north window was originally further west.

a b c d. Hearth-space in hall and kitchen, originally open, but now enclosed and fitted with modern grates. The chimney over this space is carried up through the floor above.

E. Remaining part of withdrawing-room or dining-room, now used as a store-room.

F. Staircase, now partitioned off from adjoining part and from west wing. The ground floor and north upper room of this are let off in separate occupation.

G. Present entrance to west wing and part adjoining staircase.

H. Modern stairs to upper north room.

K K. Tower.

L. Garden.

M. Modern kitchen.

N. Parlour, originally kitchen. The arch of the fire-place remains open, but the rest is enclosed and fitted with a modern grate.

O. Passage formed by partition out of kitchen, with modern stairs partitioned off from the hall. The

entrance to the modern kitchen probably takes the place of an original window.

P. Cupboard.

Q. Part of dairy, which was perhaps part of the original kitchen. It has been enlarged by removing the wall shown by broken lines and partitioning off part of the east wing. There was probably also a window on the south side of this room.

The east wing has been altered so as to communicate with the modern outbuildings with which it is surrounded on all sides except facing the front garden. It is now entered only through these outbuildings from the farm-yard. This part of the building is only sketched in outline on the plan, but it can be seen from the upper part of the main walls that the two wings were originally symmetrical.

The house is a long, low, stone building in two stories with a moderately pitched roof of ordinary slates. It was probably originally covered with stone slates, and the chimney-stack over the huge double hearth was doubtless much larger than the present one. With the important exceptions of the general plan and the windows it is now devoid of all characteristic architectural features. It would be no extravagant conjecture to suppose that there were originally at least stone copings on the gables, terminated by kneelers and simple ball-shaped finials. The porch, which may or may not have been of two stories, was probably finished in the same style. The windows in the north front of the upper story would, of course, be placed symmetrically over the lower ones. This is no longer the case, except on the east side of the main block and in the west wing. The north front, now

much disfigured by alterations and additions, was about 100 feet long, the central block being about 66, and the wings about 17 feet each. The windows have stone mullions and dripstones, some being divided into three and some into four lights, square-headed and without transoms. The chamfering of the mullions of several of the upper windows is hollow in the early style ; in the others it is plain. The latter have probably been substituted much later. The alterations in these windows, partly in the number of lights and partly in position, especially on the upper floor, have greatly disfigured the front. The wings end in gables to the north, and have no windows on that side. Between them is a garden enclosed by a low wall. It is surmounted by modern iron paling, but is no doubt on the site of an old one.

The gable of the west wing is surmounted by a chimney-stack and covered with ivy, and forms with the gabled end of the main building, also ivy-clad, a comparatively picturesque feature. The upper floor has a mullioned window under the main gable matching that below.

The "tower," to use the name the occupiers gave it not thirty years ago, now consists of two stories, the upper one being covered by an open gable roof. The ground floor, or rather basement, of which the walls are three feet thick, is lighted only by small arched openings about a foot high. The upper floor has a small window close under the eave to the west, and a large mullioned window under the gable to the south. The level of this floor is several feet lower than that of the main building.

Without wishing to dogmatise on a subject of which

I know so little, I venture to express an opinion, based on many similar cases described by Dr. Taylor, that this building is the remains of a small specimen of the strongholds called peles, which were evenly distributed over Cumberland and Westmorland in the times when the Border country was the scene of constant warfare. The oldest now existing are of the fourteenth century, and they formed the nucleus of numerous manor-houses built down to the late Tudor times. The typical pele tower consisted of a vaulted basement, a solar or lord's apartment on the first floor, and a sleeping-chamber under the roof, which was surrounded with a crenellated parapet.* In the case of Park House this tower may have been doubly useful when the surrounding land was in fact a park, that is a hunting-ground, but in the planning of the dwelling-house it appears rather to be treated as an excrescence than a nucleus. As will be seen from the plan, however, it was connected with the house by the small intermediate building which contains the staircase. At the top of the first flight was apparently a doorway, now blocked up, leading into the first floor of the tower ; the second flight continues to the upper floor of the dwelling-house.

The L shape thus produced doubtless also facilitated the formation of an enclosed garden or courtyard on the south side of the main building. There may possibly have been in the original plan a projection at the east end to match the tower.

The interior of the house is greatly disguised. The

* *Old Manorial Halls*, p. 41. A well-known Lancashire example on a large scale is Borwick Hall; see Frontispiece, and Garner and Stratton, *Tudor Domestic Architecture in England*, Vol. II, p. 151.

hall has been much reduced in size by the partitions which make a passage on two sides, by the walling up of the hearth, and perhaps also by the cutting off of the space, now occupied by the stairs, reached from a passage which has been partitioned out of the kitchen. Five lights have been blocked out of the original windows in the south wall of the hall, and three fresh ones have been opened in the space between them.

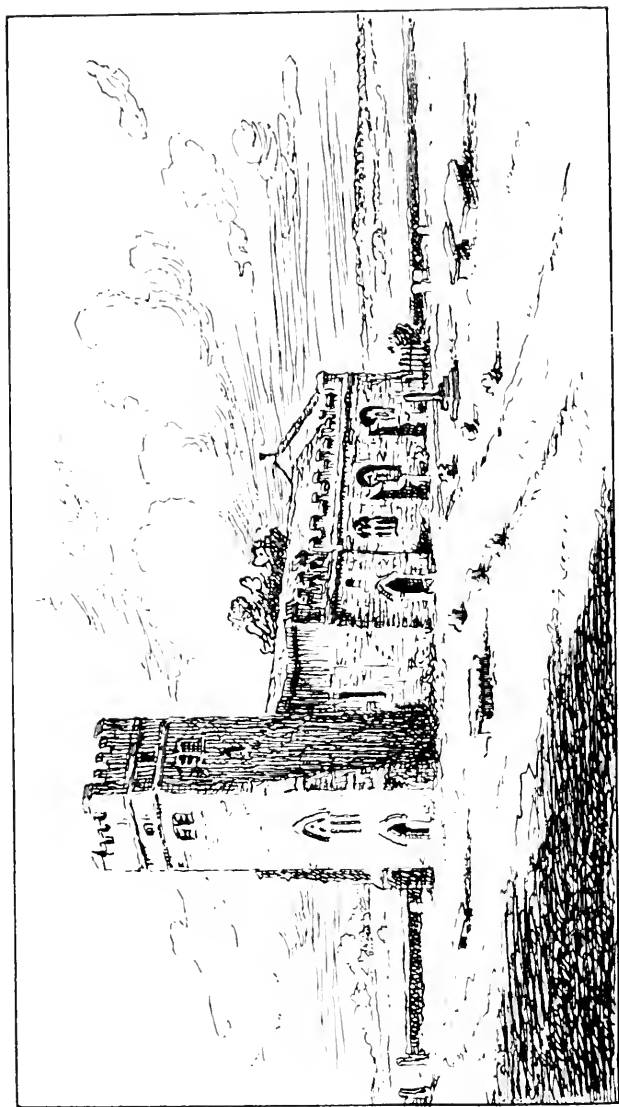
The wall dividing the kitchen into two with a corresponding encroachment on the other side into the wing may be of old standing, though not original. The other subdivisions of the wings seem less doubtful. It seems at least possible that the original doorways into the kitchen and drawing-room were on the south side, and that the present entrances are modern. The original line of division between the hall and kitchen seems doubtful, and the question of the original back entrances, if any, is also left by the numerous modern alterations somewhat difficult of solution.

The old staircase has some nicely carved spiral oak balusters, and on the first floor, forming the division between the staircase and the adjoining bedroom, is some old oak panelling. These are the only traces of internal decoration which it is possible to attribute to the period of the house or even to the eighteenth century.

Finally we must not forget the Park House pew which, *teste* the vicar, once occupied a position at the head of the nave of Tunstal Church, second only in dignity to the chapel in the chancel aisle belonging to Thurland Castle. It may still be seen in an old engraving of the interior of the church preserved in

the vestry. It is a journey of some two miles and a half to the parish church from Cowan Bridge, shortened though it may be by a footpath across the fields which Charlotte Brontë and her sisters found such a sore trial on days of rain and mud. Though the Park House pew is no more, the room over the church porch in which these poor schoolgirls ate their Sunday luncheon still exists. It is not surprising that the pew should have gone out of use, since the modern church of Leck is but a stone's-throw from the Park House boundary.

One is inclined to dwell upon Park House and its history because it is the oldest visible object which we can associate distinctly with any of our ancestors of the north-country period. In the churchyard at Kirkby Lonsdale not a tombstone remains bearing their name. Beyond the pack-horse bridge already mentioned there are no buildings at Beckfoot which one can regard as older than about the middle of the eighteenth century. The dwelling there, which probably dated at least from Elizabethan times, and had never pretended to be more than the abode of a statesman, must have been far less commodious than Park House, which may well have given the new tenant a sense on his marriage of having made a move, if not in the social scale, at least in the scale of civilisation. He was no longer a statesman cultivating a few "paternal acres," but he was a tenant-farmer of an estate of which the acreage seems to have run into many hundreds. Yet it is probable that life at Park House was primitive enough, and not much in advance of what is said to have been common in the dales even at the end of the eighteenth century. For William



TUNSTALL CHURCH

Hardy was of thorough Westmorland breed, though a mile or so outside his native borders. In no other county has progress—or rather, should we say, change?—been so slow and, perhaps we should add, so solid.* The stanzas of Pope, in which the above oft-quoted phrase occurs, are worth repeating here, so accurately do they seem to be modelled on the mode of life from which at this epoch our ancestry began to depart :

“Happy the man whose wish and care
A few paternal acres bound,
Content to breathe his native air
On his own ground.

Whose herds with milk, whose fields with bread,
Whose flocks supply him with attire,
Whose trees in summer yield him shade,
In winter fire.”

What became of William Hardy immediately after leaving Park House is not perfectly clear. The baptism of his son Joseph, born in 1722 or 1723, which would in the ordinary course have thrown some light on the point, was postponed till ten years later. In all probability he returned to his old home. The next record we have of him is the baptism at Kirkby Lonsdale of apparently his youngest son: “George, son of William Hardy of Barbon, yeoman.” This took place on March 16, 1724–5, and, being less than six months after the death of William’s mother, suggests that it was on that event that he returned

* *Manners and Customs of Westmorland by a Literary Antiquarian* [John Gough], reprinted in 1847 from the Kendal Chronicle of 1812; Report of Andrew Pringle, 1797 (in Bailey and Culley, *Agriculture in Northumberland*, etc.).

to Barbon, or that her age and infirmities had made it necessary that he should relieve her of all responsibility in the carrying on of the farm on the family estate. The absence of a record of her personal property in the Archdeaconry Court is in favour of the latter supposition.

The description of "yeoman" is significative of the change of status which had ensued in Barbon on the enfranchisement of the holdings of the customary tenants by the deed of January 17, 1718, which has already been referred to.* This deed is of interest as setting out the names of all the customary tenants at that date with quit rents indicating the relative values of their holdings. Our ancestor William is the only Hardy in the list, and judging from a glance through the parish and archdeaconry records it seems that he had outstayed all his cousins in Kirkby Lonsdale. The last traces of them which I have noticed indicate an emigration of some of them about the year 1700 into Whittington and Wraton, both just over the Lancashire border.

The effect of the enfranchisement on the remaining "Border-tenants" was to turn them into ordinary freeholders, and to put an end to all the rights of the lord of the manor in their property, except certain small fixed rents-charge, varying from 2d. to £1 12s. 10d. The scheme of the enfranchisement was the payment of £1700 down and of these perpetual rents-charge or quit rents amounting annually in all to £15 4s. 2d., both sums being apportioned amongst the various "tenements" according to their actual value. The freehold was conveyed to six out of the

* p. 13; and see Appendix III.

thirty-eight tenants scheduled to the deed, and the £1700 was expressed to be paid by these six trustees to Mr. Shuttleworth. No doubt most of the tenants contributed their share of the money then and there, but it was provided that in case any had not done so the trustees, as advancing the money for them, should stand entitled to legal interest until due payment.

William Hardy appears in the deed as one of the trustees, and this may be taken as an indication of his being looked up to amongst his neighbours. It may also be noted that he appears in a second schedule, which contains a list of eight tenants of the manor who already held other land as freehold subject to various small "free rents" or quit rents, which it was provided should still be paid as before. The other trustees are Thomas Garnett, Robert Place, Robert Holme, Thomas Richardson, and James Harrison, the last-named being the present vicar of Barbon's ancestor. He, as well as Holme and Richardson, also appears in the schedule of freeholders, the others being Joseph Gibson (doubtless of Whelprigg), Thomas Dent, Anthony Reamy, and Elizabeth Glover. Joseph Gibson is the only one in the freeholders' list who does not also appear as a customary tenant.

The average amount of quit rent charged on the various tenements is 8s., and the average capital payment approximately £44. William Hardy's quit rent being 6s. 7d. shows his share of the redemption money to have been £36 4s.

The next record we have of him is the baptism of his son Joseph at Kirkby Lonsdale on February 11, 1732-3, in which he is still described as "of Barbon,

yeoman." Soon after this, though we do not know his place of abode for the next thirty years or thereabouts, there is reason to suppose that he finally parted with his ancestral home and again moved eastward. Let into the wall of a barn at the upper end, as I should judge, the older of the two farms at High Beckfoot is a stone tablet bearing this inscription :

H
T E
1735

This, according to the usage common in this part of the country, is to be interpreted somewhat in the manner of a shield, in which the husband's coat of arms impales the wife's. H stands for the surname, T for the christian name of the husband, E for that of the wife. I have little doubt that the mark is that of Thomas Holme and Elizabeth his wife (born Huck), who were married at Kirkby Lonsdale on September 2, 1732. On the plans of Mr. Harrison's property sold in 1828, already quoted, the names of Holme and Huck both appear as adjoining owners. At High Beckfoot Mrs. Alice Holme and William Huck appear to own the land within a few hundred yards of the aforesaid barn and farm-house, and " Mr. T. Holme's devisees " are a little nearer the village. At Low Beckfoot William Huck appears again, and the property of J. Holme extends from the Lune up to and beyond the lane which joins the two hamlets. It seems, therefore, a very likely theory that a sale by William Hardy of his Beckfoot property took place in, or shortly after, the year 1733 to the newly married Thomas Holme, and that the latter, after settling

down there, added the barn and perhaps made other improvements in 1735. From the enfranchisement deed of 1718 it appears that next to the Garnetts, who together held nearly a fourth in value of all the customary property in Barbon, the four Holmes, including Thomas, were the largest owners in one family ; and it seems rather in accordance with the ordinary course of such things at that period that they should add to their possessions, and that the smaller owners should tend to disappear.

The year 1733 also corresponds with an important event in the yeoman's family, which may have had something to do with his decision to realise his land and perhaps improve or economise his resources. This was the sending of his eldest son to Cambridge, where he was admitted at Christ's College on June 16. It was also perhaps the formalities attending this event that led to his son Joseph's christening, though at the age of ten. Owing to some unexplained cause it had apparently not taken place at the usual time, and the omission had probably been forgotten till the present occasion arose for looking into the parish register in proof of birth. The second and third sons, now aged seventeen and sixteen, would be old enough at this time to be apprenticed to the hardware business in which we find they were trading some eight or ten years later, so that their father may well have been just now in a convenient position for putting his establishment on a fresh footing.

However this may be, there is practically no doubt that at the time he made his will he was no longer a landed proprietor. In this document, which bears date December 8, 1762, he describes himself as " of Ingleton

in the County of York, husbandman." Whereas the entrance to Park House at Cowan Bridge is about two miles from Kirkby Lonsdale, Ingleton is another five on the same road, which runs from Kirkby to Settle and so on to Leeds. Close to Ingleton it passes through the parish of Thornton in Lonsdale, where, as already mentioned, may be traced some early record of the family of William Hardy's wife, the Flasbys.

Ingleton is a great contrast to Kirkby Lonsdale, which may boast, according to Ruskin,* of a churchyard affording "one of the loveliest scenes in England—and therefore in the world. Whatever moorland hill and sweet river and English foliage can be at their best is gathered here." The ancient church, the visible outcome of twenty or thirty generations of human piety, stands within a stone's-throw of the old market cross, the bygone and now almost lifeless centre of the little town, close to the steep bank where of all human sounds you hear only the falling of the mill-stream, as it once was, driven into its channel by a dam now abandoned to decay. The outlook combines in a harmonious gradation what is most naked and wild with what is most soft and cultivated in Nature, from the open fells of Barbon and Casterton to the woods, the lawns and meadows of Underley. Mingled with it all is the scent of the flower-gardens adjoining the footpath along the brow, and a delicious sense of rest and seclusion.

But there is little seclusion about Ingleton unless it be in a "pot-hole" or cavern. The place is a well-

* *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 52. A trifle of exaggeration in his praise of the scenery must, I fear, be put down to pique from the design of a cast-iron ornament on a seat whence the view is observable.

known, or at least well-advertised resort of the holiday-makers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who delight in cheap trips and picnic rambles amongst the "natural curiosities" of the neighbourhood, but it lies on such a splendid stretch of open limestone moorland that one may readily credit its claims as a healthy habitation—at least for those who stay there long enough. It is not surprising that both William Hardy and his wife should there have outlived the fiftieth anniversary of their wedding-day—he by two and she by seven years. They were buried at Ingleton, he on February 7, 1763, and she on February 1, 1768.

By his will* he gives all his property to his wife, directing, nevertheless, that at her death his children shall have the following legacies: Edward £5, Thomas £135, John £20, Joseph £20, William £25, and Elizabeth Cumming £40. The reasons for the variation in the amounts bequeathed must be left to the reader's conjectures. The testator's personal effects were valued as follows: "Purse and apparel £10; money at interest £300; goods above stairs £10; goods below stairs £15 10s.; total £335 10s." As no farming effects are mentioned it seems the description of "husbandman" which he assumes in his will refers rather to his status than his occupation, and perhaps intimates some lowly pride in being the last of his line to follow the calling of his ancestors.

§ 2. *John Hardy of Kirkburton and his descendants*
(1688-1871)

The younger brothers of William Hardy of Park

* Proved by his widow in 'the Lancaster Consistory Court, May 30, 1763.

House both migrated to Yorkshire in early life. They were both no doubt educated at the old grammar school at Kirkby Lonsdale, but the records of the time have been lost. It does not appear that either of them went to the University, and we may therefore attribute their clerical preferment in the first instance to the Rev. John Briggs, who was Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale from 1676 to 1737, and whose burial is there recorded at the age of ninety-one. Almost contemporary with him was the Rev. Joseph Briggs, vicar from 1662 to 1727 of Kirkburton in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where he was buried at the age of eighty-five.* Researches at Wakefield, the birthplace of Joseph, contradict the supposition that John was his brother, but I think it may safely be assumed that they were cousins,† and it was due to this connection that John Hardy was in 1714 ‡ appointed master of the grammar school which had just been established at Kirkburton

* H. J. Morehouse, *Hist. Kirkburton* (1861), p. 68.

† It is not unlikely that they were both grandsons or grand-nephews of Richard Briggs, a native of Halifax, who died in 1636, having been since about 1585 sub-master or headmaster of Norwich School (A. W. Jessop in *Notes and Queries*, 5th S., Vol. VII, p. 507). No doubt Joseph, as stated in Blomefield's *Hist. Norfolk* (8vo ed., Vol. IV, p. 221), was related to Augustin Briggs of Norwich, but the pedigree tracing them back to Salle in Norfolk is, according to Dr. Jessop, quite untrustworthy. In the Kirkby Lonsdale registers there appear two or three branches of a family of Briggs mainly settled at Lupton, and these were possibly related to the vicar, but the earliest entry is in 1664, when the vicar was aged about eighteen. If, therefore, he had any family connection with Kirkby Lonsdale, the most we can suppose is that his father migrated thither in middle life; and this is quite consistent with the supposed West Riding origin of the whole family. The vicar, we may note, does not appear to have had any children. His wife, aged eighty-five, predeceased him by less than six months.

‡ H. J. Morehouse, *Hist. of Kirkburton* (1861), p. 68.

by the inhabitants.* It was a "grammar school" of a most elementary kind. Endowments amounting to about £500 were acquired in 1721 and 1722 to teach twenty or thirty poor children reading gratis, and writing and arithmetic "at half-charges," besides something for their clothes.† At Kirkburton John Hardy married in February, 1717, Mary, daughter of Thomas Mokeson of Yew Tree, a homestead in that parish, where it is said the family had resided as yeomen for three hundred years. Of John Mokeson, the last of Yew Tree, and Olive his wife, there is, as Dr. Morehouse calls it, this "singular record," that they had thirty children, of whom four reached adult age.

From the record of his marriage it appears that the schoolmaster was then also curate. The vicar was now in his seventy-ninth year, and probably from this time till his death ten years later, though he resided in the parish, he left the curate to perform the best part of his duties. Of his successor, however, the Rev. Robert D'Oyley, M.A., who was also Vicar of Windsor, it is said ‡ that during the whole period of his connection with Kirkburton, which was nearly forty years, he only paid three visits to it. Conse-

* A tablet in the school-building, presumably placed there in 1736, says it was built in 1714, but there is a declaration by Jos. Briggs, the vicar, dated April 28, 1709, referring to a school-house having been "erected in the year last past" (F. A. Collins, *Parish Registers of Kirkburton*, Vol. II, p. 9). It is still probable that the school was not actually set going till the appointment of John Hardy in 1714.

† Geo. Lawton, *Collectio rer. Ecclesiastic. Ebor.* (1842), p. 141; Wm. White, *Hist. West Riding* (1838), Vol. II.

‡ Morehouse, p. 68.

quently John Hardy became curate-in-charge, and remained in that position till incapacitated by age.*

The neglect of the vicar, says Dr. Morehouse, to appear more frequent amongst his parishioners gave them great cause of complaint, and the reasonableness of that discontent appears to have been felt by Mr. Hardy, as is implied in the following facetious reply of the vicar to his curate dated June 15, 1736 :

“Methinks Yorkshire nettles are very forward this year and sting mightily, and surely one or more of them had not lightly touched you when you wrote your last, for I think I never saw so many marks and signs of a pet as I saw in yours. . . . The people grumble and murmur and upbraid you with my absence. Silly people for so doing. How can you help it? . . . Well, to set things right I’ll certainly, God willing, be with you *next* summer—*this* I can’t possibly, let matters require never so much. . . . I believe you never once thought how travelling is disagreeable to the Old Fellow—how hard a matter to get a supply [substitute] for Windsor. These are things. Yesterday the B[ishop] of Sarum was here and told me that A[rch] B[ishop] of Y[ork] could not visit, neither would he be in your country. So, Newspaper, what art thou? . . .

“Yours in good humour,

“D’OYLEY.”

That this letter does not necessarily cast an unfavourable reflection on the energies of the curate,

* He signed as curate a terrier of the vicarage property as late as May 25, 1748 (Collins, *Kirkb. Par. Reg.*, Vol. II, p. 13).

who had also his duties as schoolmaster to perform, will be realised when it is stated that the parish (exclusive of the graveship of Holme, where there was a chapel of ease) then extended over an area of some ten thousand acres, which have since been subdivided between five churches, and are comprised in a congeries of somewhat grimy suburbs lying on the south-east side of Huddersfield. It was then of course mainly rural; and consisted of some half-dozen scattered hamlets with intervening country somewhat remarkable for its steep valleys or ravines, which must in those days of very imperfect roads have been considerable obstacles to the communications between the acting parson and his flock.

Kirkburton, however, was by no means an out-of-the-way place, and must have been in many ways—and, not the least important, in the character of its inhabitants—a great contrast to Barbon. It lies with its numerous villages within an area devoted to the wool trade, and the village of Kirkburton itself lay on the coach road running from Sheffield through Barnsley, Skipton, and Settle to Lancaster.*

If we may assume that the Rev. John Hardy in his ministrations followed the ideals of the vicar with whom for ten years he was first associated as curate, we may conclude that he performed his parson's functions in no indifferent manner. The Rev. Joseph Briggs was the author of two little works still extant† which both reflect creditably on his sincerity as the shepherd of his flock. In the preface to the former, *The Church Catechism Explained*, published in 1696

* Ogilby's *Roads*, editions of 1699 and 1719.

† Copies are in the library of the British Museum.

and again in 1722, he says: "I account it to myself a great blessing that being by a sickly constitution of body forced from the breasts of my mother, that famous school of the prophets, the University of Cambridge, a very good providence cast me under the wings and guidance of an aged divine—grave, learned, and pious; a truly loyal subject to, and sufferer for, his Sovereign (1648),* a most orthodox son of the Church," whose admonition led his pupil to the study of the Catechism. In order to promote this study amongst the youth of Kirkburton, the vicar transcribed—"a great drudgery"—the whole of the questions and answers, and then found it necessary to have them printed. This print proving faulty, he had a reprint, to which he added the "Catechist's Enlargement," thus originating the present volume.

Mr. Briggs's other work, published in 1704, is called *Catholick Unity and Church Communion, or the Christian's Duty to communicate constantly with the Church of England; with a just reproof of several novel and schismatical notions and practices* [occasional conformity] . . . suited to the well-meaning countryman's capacity. The prefaces to both these little books and the dedicatory letters to the Archbishop of York show their author to have been a man honestly devoted to what he conceived to be the spiritual welfare of his parishioners, a very different person from the typical eighteenth-century pluralist, of whom we shall have something to say in the sequel. Notwithstanding

* King Charles was beheaded in January, 1648-9. The "loyal sufferer" was Briggs's father-in-law, Henry Robinson, under whom he was curate at Swillington, and from whom he seems to have inherited his somewhat rigid Church principles (Morehouse, *Hist. Kirkburton*, p. 66).

Joseph Briggs's "weakly constitution" in his early days he lived to the age of eighty-five.

It may seem rather remarkable that as curate and village schoolmaster of Kirkburton, where the gross income of the benefice is to-day put at little more than £300 a year, the Rev. John Hardy should have so far taken root in the soil as to found, so to speak, a local family which retained their hereditary estate in the parish for more than a hundred years after his death. His early experiences on his father's homestead at Beckfoot may have perhaps enabled him to deal shrewdly in land or even in sheep or wool. He died September 20, 1756, and lies buried with his wife in the nave of the parish church. By his will he gave a house and land in one or other of the Kirkburton or neighbouring townships to each of his four children, all of whose baptisms are duly recorded in the parish register. In the will they appear as Rebecca Bingley, widow; Thomas; William; and Betty, who is afterwards described as the wife of Benjamin North of Almondbury, merchant. "Widow Bingley" was buried at Kirkburton, December 20, 1811, aged ninety-three, and thus holds the record in our annals for longevity.

William was educated at the ancient grammar school in the adjoining parish of Almondbury, as appears from his admission at Trinity College, Cambridge, March 31, 1741. He took his B.A. in 1745, and is mentioned in his father's will as a clergyman; but we are not able to trace him or his descendants further, and shall find good reason in the sequel to suppose he died without issue.

To Thomas was left the property called Birksgate (or Birks-yate) in the township of Thurstonland, which

became the residence of the head of the family. Thomas was a tanner, and had a family of ten children, all sons, of whom seven, Thomas, John, Edward, Joseph, Charles Marius, Julius, and Benjamin, survived him. He died March 19, 1777, and lies buried with his wife in Kirkburton churchyard. By his will he gave to his sons Thomas and Edward the Birksgate property, and to John and Charles an estate at Upper Cumberworth, which he probably inherited from his brother William; and it may be taken as some slight indication of the values of these properties that he charged on the Birksgate property in favour of his three other sons three legacies of £300 apiece. A bequest to his wife of "one bed and bedding for the same" reads only less oddly than Mrs. William Shakespeare's "second-best bed"; but as she is appointed a trustee of the will, it can scarcely indicate ill-feeling, but rather that she was already well provided for, for he gives the residue of his personal estate to Thomas and Edward, the devisees of Birksgate. In fact, it seems probable from what follows that the wife was a lady of fortune. We have no clue to her origin. Oddly again, her husband does not mention even her christian name. She died March 6, 1795, aged sixty-nine, and is called on the family grave "Martha," though in the register of burials she is called "Mary."

Thomas the tanner was succeeded by his eldest son, who is described in his own will as Thomas Hardy of Birksgate, gentleman. In the course of a long life (he died in 1836, aged eighty-seven or eighty-eight) he seems to have accumulated, in part probably by means of money left him by his mother, a considerable amount of property in the neighbourhood of Kirkburton, besides

some at Manchester. His personal estate was sworn at "under £2000," which implies that it exceeded £1500; but this of course did not include his property in land, which, having no children of his own, he settled by will* elaborately on the descendants of his brothers. It seems from the will of his brother Edward, who was of Cumberworth in Silkston parish, that on the latter's death without issue in 1827, if not before, Thomas Hardy had acquired the half-share of Birksgate which Edward had taken under their father's will. It may be conjectured that both these brothers as well as their brother John, who was of Penistone, acquired some of their wealth by the possession of land which contained coal.

It is worth noting that Edward Hardy of Cumberworth by his will devises to a trustee all his right, title, and interest to and in a chapel at Shelley in Kirkburton parish, "for the use of the Methodist Conference late in connection with the Rev. John Wesley," built upon land purchased in 1783. That the grandson of a man who was brought into intimate and lifelong familiarity with one of the most crying abuses of the Church in the eighteenth century should have been a follower of Wesley is suggestive of the tradition in the family of a wholesome sense of right and duty.

Under the settlement created by the will of Thomas Hardy of Birksgate, gentleman, the first in possession was Thomas Hardy, a doctor in practice at Walworth in Surrey, who had obtained his licence as an apothecary in 1824 and his diploma as a surgeon in 1825.

* Proved both at York and in the Canterbury Prerogative Court in London.

He was the son of John Hardy of Penistone, and seems at the time of his succeeding to his uncle's estate to have been already in good circumstances. Walworth in 1836 was a suburb of respectable villas; and a villa, using the term in its then less degraded sense, would pay, I imagine, not less than half a guinea a visit. The doctor's will disposes of a considerable amount of property in Walworth, Chelsea, and Sydenham. Under the terms of the will of his uncle he was bound to reside at Birksgate, which he accordingly did till his death in 1848. He was an active county magistrate,* and is said to have been a Unitarian by religion, driving regularly behind a pair of cream-coloured horses to the chapel at Lidget in a remote part of the parish called Wooldale.†

The chapel at Lidget has a history going back to the Restoration, when hundreds of ministers were ejected from their livings for refusing to submit to the Act of Uniformity. The Morehouses of that day and since had been its constant supporters,‡ and their descendant Dr. H. J. Morehouse, the historian of Kirkburton, has told me that Mr. Hardy of Birksgate was one of his intimate friends, and used often to speak to him of his Westmorland descent.

He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Edward Hardy of Shepley Hall, another residence in Kirkburton parish which had been purchased by Thomas Hardy the second in 1775. On Edward's death without issue the family property passed to his

* Morehouse, *Kirkburton*, p. 104.

† This was told me by Canon Hulbert, late Vicar of Almondbury, and by Mrs. Collins, wife of the Vicar of Kirkburton, on the authority of old parish clerks.

‡ C. A. Hulbert, *Hist. Almondbury*, p. 375.

brother Alfred, the next tenant for life, who, however, had settled in South Australia. By him and his son, who would then apparently be tenant-in-tail in remainder, the settled estates were about the year 1871 disentailed and sold.*

§ 3. *Thomas Hardy of Mirfield (1683-1739)*

In order to preserve some continuity as due to the unity of place we have somewhat digressed from our usual plan of advancing generation by generation. We must now return to the children of Edward Hardy of Beckfoot. His second son Thomas in 1716, two years after the third son became a schoolmaster at Kirkburton, was presented by Sir John Armitage to the vicarage of Mirfield, which lies close to the south-west of Dewsbury, and consequently but a few miles north of Kirkburton. Sir John Armitage of Kirklees was the head of a family spread in innumerable branches through Kirkburton, Almondbury, and the adjoining district.†

The benefice of Mirfield, a small parish compared with Kirkburton, was in 1707 only worth £18 a year, but in 1719 Sir John Armitage endowed it with £200, and Queen Anne's Bounty added the same amount, and in 1732 £200 more; and in 1831 the annual value was put at £242.‡ Judging from these figures and the slight record we have of the career of his two sons, it might seem the vicar made the most of the income derived from his parish. He may perhaps have married

* I had this information from Mrs. Collins.

† *Parish Registers of Kirkburton*, ed. by Mrs. F. A. Collins, Vol. II, p. xlviii; C. A. Hulbert, *Annals of Almondbury*, p. 236.

‡ Markham's *Parish Accounts*, British Museum MSS. Add. 11397; Wm. White's *Hist, etc., West Riding* (1838).

a fortune, but on this subject we can furnish nothing but conjecture. He died at Mirfield, and was buried there on December 19, 1739. No record of his will or administration of his effects being found at York leads to the conclusion that he had no property to leave behind him.

CHAPTER VII

THE STATESMEN, THEIR SCHOOLS, AND THE CHURCH

"Some men thought therefore that D. Medcalfe [Dr. Medcalfe, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, about 1533] was parcial to Northrenmen, but sure I am of this, that Northrenmen were parcial in doing more good and giving more lands to the forderance of learning than any other contriemen in those dayes did."—ROGER ASCHAM, *The Scholemaster*, book ii. (Ed. Arber), p. 133.

ALTHOUGH Chaucer in his immortal Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* has made his worthy Parson own brother to an equally worthy Ploughman, it may seem strange that some three centuries later the two younger sons of a yeoman-farmer such as Edward Hardy of Beckfoot, scarcely able to write his name, should have been competent to take up the position of ministers in the Church of England as by law established. And this would undoubtedly have been unusual in the case of yeoman-farmers in general. But amongst the Westmorland statesmen things were otherwise. The explanation is well set out in an assistant-commissioner's *Memorandum on the Westmorland Schools* by D. C. Richmond, appended to *Reports on Northern Schools* issued under the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1867.*

The number of endowed grammar schools in Westmorland, we find, was unusually large—greater, in

* p. 901.

fact, than that of any other county except Lancashire and Yorkshire; and this, though in population Westmorland was the smallest except Rutland and two counties in Wales. Counties of approximately the same population contained one or two schools, whereas in Westmorland there were forty. Fifty years ago, says the commissioner, thirty of these schools were still teaching Latin, whereas in 1867 the number had dwindled to half a dozen. Three only of these now attempted advanced Latin and Greek, viz. Appleby, Heversham, and Kirkby Lonsdale (Heversham, it may be noted in passing, was founded by Edward Wilson of Low Levens, who also founded the fortunes of the Wilsons of Dallam Tower), and only Appleby and Heversham had now pupils of an age to send to the university, though in the case of Kirkby Lonsdale this was a special point intended to be provided for by the school charter.*

Mr. Richmond's explanation of the large number of schools in Westmorland and their decay in modern times, i.e. since the so-called industrial revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, is what chiefly interests us. They are due, he states, "to the habits and characteristics of a class of men now declining in numbers and importance, but who were formerly a great power in this part of the country, viz. the small landowners or statesmen." These men, he says, clearly distinguished from the labouring classes, looked for something better than the ordinary village school could give, but they were not rich enough to send their sons to a boarding-school. They had very different ideas from those of farmers and tradespeople in the

* D. C. Richmond's *Report on Kirkby Lonsdale School*, p. 365.

south of England. They had no idea of their sons learning the manners of the superior classes, and their strong independence and self-sufficiency, their contempt for mere externals and pride of class, which admitted no desire to struggle out of it, led them to look at home for education. They would not object to meeting the lower classes in the village school, if there was a scholar who could teach them what they wanted; otherwise they would walk long distances to a grammar school, or lodge in the neighbourhood with relations or friends. Latin and Greek were especially sought after, Homer was a favourite author, and the scholastic profession was held in high honour. Moreover, with the larger statesmen it was almost a matter of course for at least one younger son to go into the Church.

The following quotation from Hodgson's *Westmorland as it was*,* written apparently about the beginning of the nineteenth century, will serve as an anticipatory comment on the biographies outlined in the preceding and the next generation of our pedigree: "Families that could afford it sent their sons to one of the universities, and the exhibitions of Queen's College, Oxford, and other colleges annually maintained a number of youths whose frugal habits, industry, and abilities almost invariably led them to honourable distinction. But the greatest number completed their education in the head schools, and about their twentieth year became schoolmasters, in which employment they continued till they were at age to enter holy orders. This class of scholars was dispersed all over England, and mostly spent their

* *Lonsdale Magazine*, Vol. III, p. 382.

lives in stipendiary curacies or small livings. In this scholastic age the yeoman and the shepherd could enliven their employments or festivities with recitations from the beauties of Virgil, idyls of Theocritus, or wars of Troy. But when a shorter and easier way was opened to the introduction of youth into opulent prospects, this learned simplicity began to disappear. Teachers of writing and arithmetic, who had hitherto wandered from village to village, now became necessary appendages to the larger schools, and those of inferior note were soon almost exclusively employed in qualifying youth for the counting-house or the Excise." The disappearance of the statesman and his replacement by small and poor tenant-farmers which ensued in the nineteenth century tended in the same direction. There was no longer the same demand for education ; the curate and schoolmaster became separate professions, and the standard of the latter was lowered.*

The foundation of Kirkby Lonsdale school goes back to 1582. On April 16 in that year a body of feoffees, headed by Mr. Edward Middleton of Middleton Hall, received from Mr. Godsolve a sum of £100 towards its erection.† The scheme no doubt existed still earlier, and it is not unlikely that the money paid over by Godsolve consisted to some extent of gifts and legacies which had been accumulating for some years. Thus the will of John Stoctell (Stockdale) of Mansergh Hall houses, dated February 8, 1580-1, contains a

* Richmond's *Memorandum on Westmorland Schools*. Nevertheless, in 1911 the Board of Education reported that next to Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Westmorland had the highest number in proportion to population of "efficient Secondary schools" in England and Wales.

† *Seventh Report of the Charity Commissioners* (1822).

legacy of two marks (£1 6s. 8d.) "to the preferment of a free school at Kirkbye." The charter of incorporation by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth bears date July 3, 1591. This prescribed that the master should be able to read and compose Greek and Latin verses, and read and interpret Greek grammar and authors, and should be born in Westmorland, Yorkshire, or Lancashire. Numerous additional gifts and legacies followed from time to time for the immediate benefit of the school, and exhibitions were also founded for poor scholars proceeding from the school to the universities. At Christ's College, Cambridge, three exhibitions were provided by Thomas Wilson (probably of Underley in Kirkby Lonsdale and of Heversham), dated August 9, 1626, and three more under the will of Thomas Otway, Bishop of Ossory in 1692. At Queen's College, Oxford, seven exhibitions were provided in 1638 by Henry Wilson (probably also of Underley) out of certain tithes in Betham parish, from which we may perhaps conclude that the founder was of the same family as the owners of Dallam Tower and Park House.

The Bishop of Ossory, there can be little doubt, was of kin to the Otways of Becksid Hall in Middleton, already mentioned. Though a Christ's man, he was not educated at Kirkby Lonsdale, but at Winchester, his father being Vicar of Alderbury in Wiltshire.* It may well be that Kirkby Lonsdale furnished the latter with the learning on the strength of which he took orders, and that this actuated his son in benefiting the school. His will also provides for exhibitions at Christ's for scholars from the school at Sedbergh,

* *Dict. National Biog. Errata.*

which is the Yorkshire parish immediately adjoining Middleton. As already mentioned, a branch of the Otways migrated from Middleton to Ingmire Hall in this parish before the period of the Civil War. It may be mentioned here that Thomas Otway the dramatist, the most famous of the name, was in all probability of the Middleton stock. His father was Humphrey Otway, Vicar of Wolbeding in Sussex, who, it appears, from his admission at Christ's College, May 25, 1627, though born at Braffin in Hertfordshire, where his father was vicar, received the last part of his education at Sedbergh.

And finally, let it not be forgotten that the most sterling of English geniuses who adorned the eighteenth century was of Westmorland breed. Richard Hogarth, who was a younger son of a Westmorland statesman, brought his learning from his native Bampton to London and set up as a schoolmaster in Bartholomew Close, where his son William was born on November 10, 1697. His family can be traced in Westmorland as far back as the time of Henry VIII.* In the personal character of William Hogarth the statesman's sturdiness and self-sufficiency are extremely well marked. And it is worth mentioning here as a thing not generally known that there are at least two portraits by Hogarth apparently painted in Lonsdale. They represent Mrs. Margaret Mawdesley and another of the daughters of one of the Godselves of Rigmaden in Mansergh township, and are amongst the family portraits of the Gibsons of Whelprigg. Both are of the familiar type represented in the National Gallery by Lavinia Fenton and Hogarth's

* Austin Dobson, *Hogarth*, chap. ii.

sister, and in each case the hair and bodice are decorated with the pearl necklace which is almost equally familiar as a studio property in the artist's female portraits. It would be interesting if one could trace any further connection between Hogarth and the native county of his ancestors.

CHAPTER VIII

SIXTH GENERATION

Division I. *The children of William Hardy of Park House*

THE register at Tunstal contains six entries of baptisms of children of "William Hardy of Park House" with dates as follows :

Elizabeth, August 20, 1711.

Isabella, February 15, 1712-3.

Edward, July 31, 1714.

Thomas, January 15, 1715-6.

John, January 9, 1716-7, and

William ("fourth son"), March 30, 1719.

In their father's will is also mentioned Joseph (who, as will appear later, was born in the year ending August 5, 1723, though, as already stated, he was not baptised till February 11, 1733).

George, who, as already mentioned, was baptised at Kirkby Lonsdale, March 16, 1725, is not mentioned in the will, and we may therefore presume he died in his father's lifetime without issue. His baptismal name may be taken as some intimation that his father was no partisan of the house of Stuart. The passing of a Jacobite army through Kendal on its way from Scotland to be defeated at Preston in 1715 must have

been still well remembered in Westmorland and Lancashire.

Of all the above-named children Elizabeth seems to be the only one who remained in the north after her father's death. We find her mentioned as "Mrs. Cumming of Kirkby Lonsdale, widow," in the will of her cousin John Hardy, son of the Vicar of Mirfield, which bears the date October 21, 1776. We have no record of her marriage, but it probably took place at Kirkby Lonsdale. Her husband may have been the son of Edward Cumming of Holme House, Mansergh, in that parish, yeoman, whose will was proved in June, 1729, in the Richmond Archdeaconry Court. The family had been in the neighbourhood for generations. In the registers of Thornton in Lonsdale the first legible entry of a baptism is that of James, son of Edmund Cumminge, on May 25, 1576.*

Isabella, the next daughter, died unmarried, and was buried by her parents at Ingleton, December 6, 1762, only two months before her father, and two days before he made his will.

Of the other children Edward and Joseph settled as clergymen in Kent, and Thomas and John as citizens of London. Of William we have no further trace except the mention of his widow in the will of his brother Edward, dated May 20, 1796. From this we may conclude that he was then dead without issue, and from his not being named in the will of his cousin John just mentioned that he died before October 21, 1776.

Edward, as appears from the records of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he is described as the son of

* R. R. and M. Balderston, *Ingleton Bygone and Present*, p. 102.

“ William Hardy, born at Park House in the County of Lancaster,” was educated at the grammar school of Kirkby Lonsdale under “ Mr. Noble,” and admitted to the college in his eighteenth year as a sizar on June 16, 1733.* It does not appear, but it seems likely that he also had the benefit of one of the exhibitions of which, as mentioned above, Christ’s College was possessed.

No doubt Joseph Hardy also had his education at Kirkby Lonsdale school, but, as we shall see later, he did not go to Christ’s direct from school, and this is probably the reason why the place of his education is not mentioned in the Admission Book.

§ 1. *Thomas and John Hardy of Leadenhall Street
and their children (1716–1804)*

In order to deal chronologically with the events recorded in the careers of the four brothers we will postpone our account of Edward, though the eldest, till the last. His brother John, who seems, as far as we can ascertain, to have been the pioneer in the move to the south, was admitted a freeman of the City of London, as appears from the records of the Musicians’ Company, on February 26, 1745. He came on the livery of the company November 23, 1752. He was then living “ near St. Peter’s Alley, Cornhill,” and is described as a cutler. How or why he adopted this occupation we have no evidence. He was thirty when he obtained his freedom, and

* “ Edwardus Hardy, Gulielmi Filius, natus apud Parkhouse in com. Lancast^{si}. literis instructus apud Kirkby Lonsdale sub Mag^{ro}. Noble admissus est sizator sub Mag^{ro}. Trant anno aet. 18.” Until the discovery of this crucial record I had no clue whatever to any earlier generation in the pedigree.

had doubtless entered the business as an apprentice—possibly in Sheffield or some other Yorkshire town—many years earlier. In that case the advancement of his business may well have been the inducement for his coming to London. We can scarcely suggest any other. The only friends of his family of whom we have any trace at this time in the City were two great-grandsons of the Rev. Joseph Briggs, the Vicar of Kirkburton, Hobart Briggs and John Briggs. In 1745 the former was in the Excise Office, and the latter in the Post Office.* Although some ten years younger than John Hardy, it is not unlikely that they preceded him in their arrival in London, as they would naturally enter these offices direct from school. Their father was Rector of Holt in Norfolk, and they were perhaps educated at the grammar school there, of which the Fishmongers' Company were governors, and so they may have had connections in the City.

From 1754 to 1765 John Hardy appears in the books of the Musicians' Company and various directories as a hardwareman at "the corner of Leadenhall Street," but in 1766 his address is "Birchin Lane."† The explanation of his removal is found in the disastrous fire which happened on November 7, 1765. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for that month‡ contains an account of the fire illustrated by a plan, which gives the names and businesses of the occupiers of the numerous houses involved. "Hardy, hardwareman," appears at the corner of Leadenhall Street and Bishopsgate Street. Immediately at the back of this house

* Blomefield, *Hist. Norfolk*, Vol. II (1745), p. 640.

† *Kent's London Directory*.

‡ p. 535.

and facing Bishopsgate Street is "Rutland, barber," and in this shop early in the morning the fire suddenly started. For want of water and with the aid of a southerly wind it soon spread along both sides of Bishopsgate Street as far as Threadneedle Street. About seven o'clock the wind shifted, and the fire went no further towards the north. From the meeting-point, however, of Leadenhall Street, Bishopsgate Street, Gracechurch Street, and Cornhill, where all four corners were blazing at once, it spread east and west, destroying some half-dozen houses on the north side of Cornhill, and in Leadenhall Street half a score on the north, besides two or three opposite. Altogether, it is said, forty-nine houses were destroyed and fifteen damaged. Several lives were lost, but mainly, if not entirely, as the result of falling ruins.*

In the following year a brand-new row of houses with shops was built on the north side of Leadenhall Street on the site of those burnt down, the frontage being set back slightly in a curve to widen the thoroughfare in correspondence with a similar arrangement in Cornhill. An elaborate engraving showing the elevation of the new buildings is given by Wilkinson in *Londina Illustrata*.† From this it appears that the corner house now occupied not only its former site, but also that of the house adjoining, and had a frontage on Leadenhall Street of about thirty-five feet, which was more

* A good account of the fire gathered from contemporary newspapers and other sources of information is in Vol. I of the larger edition (in the Guildhall Library) of Robert Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata* (1818-1825), opposite plate No. VIII. This is a plan of the fire identical with that in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, except that it is on a larger scale.

† Vol. II, Plate No. CXXXII, in the Guildhall Library Edition.

than half as much again as any of its neighbours. The "return" frontage on Bishopsgate Street was somewhat longer. In fact, the site was identical with that occupied by the corner house at the present time, and bore the same number, 158, in Leadenhall Street.*

The entrance from Leadenhall Street is through a shop-front consisting of no less than seventy-two panes of glass, without counting the subdivision into three caused by the arched heads inserted into the top row, an extra ornament further distinguishing the hardware shop from the others. Above are three floors, each with a row of four plain windows, and above these two attic windows partly hidden by the parapet. The shop door, not being in the middle, but decidedly nearer the east side of the house, suggests that there was a private entrance in Bishopsgate Street, and possibly an internal subdivision into two. It is therefore not surprising that in the next record where we can trace the corner house we find it in double occupation. In Baldwin's *London Guide* for 1770 we find "John & T. Hardy, Hardwaremen, corner of Leadenhall Street and Bishopsgate Street"—an entry which is continued in various directories down to 1792.

The supposition that the two brothers joined together on the rebuilding of the house after the fire fits in with Thomas Hardy's admission to the freedom of the

* In Wilkinson's plate the houses are not numbered, but he gives the names of the occupiers as they were apparently in 1825. The numbers are given with the site of each house in Horwood's Map of London of 1799. From this it may be seen how the site of the three large houses over which the numbers 150 to 157 (inclusive) are now distributed was then divided between eight separate dwellings, including the Bull Inn and another house, formerly the Nag's Head, which were reached by passages and courtyards, and had no frontages on the street.

City on May 6, 1766. This is recorded in the books of the Carpenters' Company, of which he was enrolled as a liveryman on July 7, 1767, being described as of Leadenhall Street, hardwareman.

On turning to the registers of St. Peter's-upon-Cornhill,* in which parish this end of Leadenhall Street is situated, we find as early as December 18, 1757, the baptism of Henry, son of Thomas Hardy; which, if it relates to Thomas Hardy the hardwareman, is the earliest record we have of his connection with the City. In the same register is the baptism of "Thomas, son of John and Christian Hardy," February 20, 1770, and the burial of Christian Hardy in the south aisle of the church on March 18, 1771. Of the son Thomas we have no further trace. The uncommon name of Christiana being bestowed, as we shall find later, on a niece and again on a grandniece of John Hardy the hardwareman leaves little doubt as to his being the husband of this Christian, and it may also be inferred that he was married to her as early as 1756, when the niece named after her was christened. The form of her own baptismal name, I think, indicates a northern origin.

Both the brothers had other children, as we shall see later, besides those just referred to, but their baptisms do not appear at St. Peter's. Nevertheless, during the five-and-twenty years of their residence at their new house the hardwaremen continued in some degree their connection with the church. From the manuscript collections of Robert Wilkinson† in the

* Printed down to 1772 by the Harleian Society.

† See the second of the quarto volumes, pp. 14-22. Wilkinson, the author or publisher of *Londina Illustrata*, was a resident in the

Guildhall Library it appears that in 1767 John Hardy was appointed a trustee of some of the parish property, and continued as such till September 13, 1792, when it is recorded that he had left the parish. Thomas was overseer in 1780-1 and churchwarden in 1782-3. Amongst the plates issued by Wilkinson in 1825 in connection with the church is a plan, showing the pews and seats with certain occupants' names, "given in 1782 by Mr. Thomas Hardy, then the upper churchwarden," to the sextonesses "for their discretion." In this plan a spacious compartment at the west end of the church is allotted as the "churchwarden's pew," but it is remarkable that none of the Hardy family are named as occupying seats in the capacity of inhabitants of the parish.* Owing to the small number of householders in the minute City parishes it may well be supposed that every parishioner who was fit for the various parochial offices was in his turn called on to serve, although he may not have habitually worshipped in the church.

Thomas Hardy became a member of the court of the Carpenters' Company in 1791 and Middle Warden in 1794. He was nominated for Upper Warden in 1795, but not elected. His brother John was Master of the Musicians' Company in 1775, in 1792 a trustee, and

parish and trustee of the parish property as early as 1792. His five volumes of manuscript collections were intended for a history of the parish, which he never published, but were used for a history of the church, published after his death in 1837. He published several plates illustrating the church and its monuments, most of which are collected in a volume in the Guildhall Library. The complete set of eighteen is catalogued in Wm. Upcott's *Bibliography of English Topography*, Vol. II, p. 709.

* This plan is in the Collection of Prints relating to Cornhill Ward in the Guildhall Library.

in 1793 treasurer. After this there was a difficulty about his accounts, but an agreement was at last come to between the lawyers as to what was due, and, this being paid over in 1801, the treasurer resigned.

Meanwhile it appears from the directories that in 1792 the firm had moved to 127 Leadenhall Street, where they continued till 1801, and then disappeared. No. 127 is in the parish of St. Andrew, Undershaft. It appears from Horwood's map and from the information I have picked up from the parish clerk, who remembered it as it was before it was pulled down to make room for the offices of the P. and O. Company, that it was a great contrast to No. 158 in point of size and position ; and coupling this with the facts above mentioned concerning the Musicians' and Carpenters' Companies, there seems ground for supposing that the removal of the two old men from their prominent street corner was the result of something in the nature of a financial catastrophe. Had they left any considerable property some trace of them would be found amongst the wills and administrations at Doctors' Commons, and here I have searched for them in vain. They were both buried at St. Peter's, Cornhill, in the south aisle, where John's wife Christian had already been laid, Thomas on January 3, 1799, John on May 23, 1804.

It appears from the will of Isabella Hardy, the daughter of Thomas, proved in London in December, 1796,* that he had also another daughter, "Mrs. Hanmer," and a son, Thomas Flasby Hardy ; and that at the date of this will, October 29, 1796, Isabella and her brother were living at Leadenhall Street with

* Canterbury, Prerog. Court.

their uncle John, his daughter Maria, and his nephew, Robert Cumming. The latter, who was of course the son of Mrs. Elizabeth Cumming of Kirkby Lonsdale, seems more likely to have had a hand in carrying on the business than Thomas Flasby Hardy, who is referred to in his sister's will as "late of Jamaica."

The contents of the will confirm the supposition that the father and uncle were no longer men of wealth. Isabella does not mention her father at all, and only refers to her uncle John as owing her money. Her brother, too, was in her debt to the amount of £1200. She releases her "dear brother" and her uncle from the money they owe her; gives her clothes and trinkets in London to her cousin Maria, and her clothes and trinkets at Pill, near Bristol, to Mrs. Hanmer and her daughter Maria Hanmer, who with her brother Thomas Hardy Hanmer are specially provided for by giving them a sort of claim for the £1200 due from their uncle Thomas, "late of Jamaica," on their coming of age. The will was proved by Maria Hardy as executrix alone. Thomas Flasby Hardy was appointed executor, but did not join in the probate. That office, though accompanied by the gift of the residue of the estate, promised, as we may imagine, less profit than embarrassment.

§ 2. *Joseph Hardy of Sutton Valence (1723-1786)*

Having disposed of Thomas and John Hardy and their descendants as far as we know of them we come next to their younger brother Joseph. Our earliest record of him is his admission as a sizar at Christ's College, Cambridge, on March 20, 1746, where he is described as being already in holy orders.

As he was then about twenty-three years of age we may suppose he had obtained a curacy and had been doing the work of some absentee parson in the north ; or perhaps he had been helping his uncle John at Kirkburton. In any case, his university career seems to have been only nominal, for only six months after his admission he was appointed by the Clothworkers' Company headmaster of their school at Sutton Valence in Kent. This appointment was probably in some measure due to the City connections of his brothers the hardwaremen, but at the same time it is of some interest to point out a still earlier connection with this part of the country which may have had something to do with the matter. Some five or six miles from Sutton in the direction of Maidstone is the parish of Loose, the incumbent of which from 1712 to 1722 was the Rev. Henry Briggs, now (in 1746) Rector of Holt in Norfolk, chaplain-in-ordinary to the King, and father of Hobart and John Briggs, the two young men in the Excise and Post Office already mentioned. He was the son of Dr. William Briggs, F.R.S., of Town Malling, near Maidstone, who was physician-in-ordinary to King William, and died in 1704. Besides his son Henry he also left a daughter, who was married to Dennis Martin of Loose, and who therefore probably still remained in the neighbourhood after her brother's departure to Norfolk.*

On the other hand, not only were Henry Briggs and his sister grandchildren of a first cousin of the Rev. Joseph Briggs, Vicar of Kirkburton, but Henry had married at Kirkburton on September 15, 1720, as his second wife, Grace, a daughter of Joseph Briggs of

* Hasted, *History of Kent*, First Edition, Vol. II, p. 241.

Liverpool, and consequently the vicar's granddaughter. This clearly shows the intimacy between the Yorkshire and Kent branches of the Briggs family existing at the time when there must also have been a close intimacy between the former and John Hardy of Kirkburton; and considering Joseph Briggs's connection with John Briggs, the Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, it is not unlikely that it extended to the family of John Hardy's brother William, who had remained in the Kirkby Lonsdale neighbourhood. Indeed, it seems very probable that the name of Joseph was given by William Hardy to his son out of compliment to the Vicar of Kirkburton, who was perhaps Joseph Hardy's godfather. It is noteworthy that the eldest son of Henry Briggs was also christened Joseph, and he would be within a year or two Joseph Hardy's contemporary in birth.*

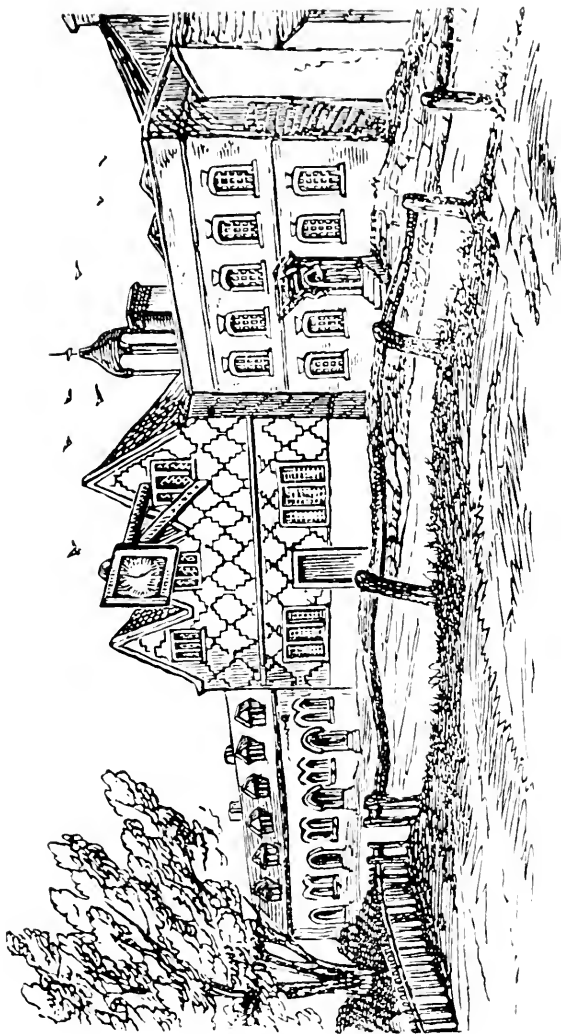
Joseph Hardy continued in his post as master of Sutton Valence school from 1746 for the remaining

* According to the Briggs pedigree in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* (Vol. II, p. 640), the Vicar of Kirkburton was the son of Samuel Briggs of Wakefield. Dr. Morehouse (*Hist. of Kirkburton*) says he was the son of William, and identifies him with Joseph, son of William, baptised at Wakefield, May 25, 1639. But there was also a Joseph, son of Joseph Briggs, baptised there January 28, 1640-1, and this corresponds with the admission at Magdalene College, Cambridge, from Wakefield Grammar School, of Joseph, son of Joseph Briggs of Wakefield, deceased, "14 annos natus" on May 12, 1654. Again, although in Blomefield's pedigree Mrs. Henry Briggs's father is called William, according to Mrs. F. A. Collins (*Kirkburton Parish Registers*, Vol. II, p. ccclxxxi) his name was Joseph. Thus at the time of the baptisms of Henry Briggs's son and of Joseph Hardy, the latter's christian name had run through three generations of the Briggs family, whereas it is entirely absent from all the pedigrees of the Barbon Hardys previous to this time. The untrustworthiness of Blomefield's pedigree is pointed out by Dr. Jessop in *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VII, p. 507.

forty years of his life. Sutton Valence, otherwise Town Sutton, lies on the steep ridge of hills running east and west about five miles north of Staplehurst. It has a magnificent view over the Weald of Kent and Sussex—indeed, the outlook from the battlements of the church tower may be called panoramic, and it is credibly stated that in favourable states of the atmosphere it includes a glimpse of the English Channel. But notwithstanding his healthy surroundings our ancestor Joseph only lived to the age of sixty-three, predeceasing by several years all his elder brethren, and it is remarkable that all his eight children except two seem to have died young.

The Clothworkers' School was founded by William Lambe, who was master of the company in 1569-70. From a rough woodcut, which may be seen reproduced on a post card, it seems that the original building, which was replaced by the present ones in Mid-Victorian times,* was a large three-gabled house in Tudor brick ornamented with the familiar lozenge or diaper pattern in bricks of a different colour. On your left as you face this building is shown the row of almshouses, and on the right a Georgian or Queen Anne house with an entrance under a hood on brackets flanked on each side by two sash-windows with prominent keystones. Above is a row of five similar windows on the first floor surmounted by a deep parapet. All these buildings abutted immediately on the street. After the Elizabethan buildings had been pulled down the Georgian house was left standing till about thirty years ago, as appears from a photograph of it also

* In 1910 additional buildings were erected on an altogether different site outside the town.



SUTTON VALENCE SCHOOL AND ALMSHOUSES IN THE EARLY PART
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

reproduced on a modern post card and labelled " the old grammar school, Sutton Valence, Kent."

This house was undoubtedly built as a residence for the master, and judging from its architectural style one would say it was of at least as early a date as the appointment of the Rev. Joseph Hardy. The records of the company contain nothing more definite about it than an entry in the Court Minute Book dated December 5, 1804, showing that some time between 1594 and that time the company had expended very considerable sums in erecting it. Before this the master had " a convenient chamber or lodging with other necessary rooms," which were ordered to be constructed by the company in 1594, the founder having himself apparently left nothing but the school and almshouses, without providing anything for their repair or the housing of the master. The original endowment, according to Hasted,* was a good house and garden, besides salaries of £20 for the master and £10 for an usher. There was also a salary of £5 " for an English usher " left by will in 1713.

Joseph Hardy seems to have married about 1750; the eldest of his children, whose baptisms I have discovered at Sutton Valence, being born in October, 1751. But we have no clue to his wife's family or the place of their marriage. We only know from the grant of administration to her of her husband's estate on his death that her name was Mary.†

In 1755 he took the degree of LL.B. at Cambridge, and it appears from entries of his children's baptisms in the parish registers that some time between 1759

* *Hist. Kent*, First Edition, Vol. II, p. 415.

† Cant. Prerog. Court, August 16, 1786.

and 1761 he added to his duties as a schoolmaster those of curate of Sutton Valence, which were no doubt identical with those supposed to be performed by the vicar, and therefore included the duties belonging to the adjoining parish of East Sutton. The vicar or his representative "preached alternately at the two churches on Sunday, morning and afternoon."* The holder of the benefice from 1759 to 1761 was Samuel Venner, who may then have been too old for service, for he died in 1764. He was succeeded by Nicholas Broome, but from the evidence of the registers it appears the curate still continued in office; and doubtless, as a tolerably consistent absentee, the new vicar, who held the living for forty-one years, found the school with its clerical headmaster a very convenient institution. For, according to Hasted, writing about the year 1790, the parsonage houses both in East Sutton and Sutton Valence had been for many years in the possession of the Payne and Filmer families respectively under leases from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, who were the patrons.

In 1762 the schoolmaster was presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the rectory of Headcorn, a village about five miles south of Sutton Valence. His signature is found in the registers of both churches, but as the curate to whom a memorial is erected in the church at Headcorn must ordinarily have done the duty there, the rector's appearance can only have been occasional.

In 1769 he was nominated by Sir Thomas Rider, the lord of the manor, to the perpetual curacy of Bilsington,† near Winchilsea, of the clear value,

* Hasted.

† Lambeth Register.

according to Hasted, of £30 ; and again he was presented by the Archbishop in 1772 to the vicarage of Monkton* in the Isle of Thanet, which included the chapels of Birchington and Woodchurch. These places are, of course, so far from Sutton Valence that no one who resided there can be supposed to have done any regular duty at any of them, and it is noticeable that the parsonage at Monkton had for ages been let for secular purposes by the Dean and Chapter as lords of the manor, and was known by the ancient name of the Aumbry (or Almonry) Farm.†

The case of this parson-schoolmaster is a striking illustration of the way in which preferments were dealt with in the days of pluralities and non-residence. It was, of course, though economical, a very bad system, and liable to scandalous abuses, but it did not follow, as we have seen at Kirkburton—and it may have been the same at Sutton Valence and Headcorn—that because the vicar himself was an absentee the parishioners were without a faithful and active pastor according to the requirements of that day. At the end of the eighteenth century considerable public excitement was caused by some of the bishops taking action to compel the beneficed clergy to reside, and the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1801 give one some idea of how the system struck a contemporary. One correspondent argues that to compel the beneficed clergy to “undertake the drudgery” of parochial duty would be to “degrade the Church,” because the upper classes would not then take orders ; and, moreover, the curates employed by the vicars

* Lambeth Register.

† Hasted, Vol. IV, p. 310.

would lose their occupation and be turned adrift.* To this it was rejoined that the curates themselves, who were sometimes beneficed, took as many cures as they could get hold of, and lived for the sake of amusements and company in a market-town sometimes a dozen miles from their benefices.†

The Rev. Joseph Hardy, as appears from a tablet on the south wall of Sutton Valence Church, died on August 5, 1786, aged sixty-three. He was buried in Lambe's, the Founder's Chapel, which was on the south side of the chancel; but the tablet does not indicate that spot, the church having been entirely rebuilt between the years 1823 and 1828, though mainly on the old plan.‡ The memorial to the schoolmaster seems to have been erected on the occasion of the death on October 16, 1823, of his daughter "Harriet, wife of William Kingsley, Esquire, of Sittingbourne," who himself died June 30, 1827, and is commemorated in addition. It may be reasonably concluded that notwithstanding his numerous sources of income the Rev. Joseph Hardy left but little wealth behind him; for he died without a will, and only eleven days later letters of administration of his effects were granted to his widow, Mary. We shall find her still living as late as May, 1796.

§ 3. *The Rev. Edward Hardy (1714-1796)*

Edward Hardy, the eldest of Joseph's brethren, took his degree of B.A. and deacon's orders in 1736

* *Gent. Mag.*, 1801, p. 897.

† *Ibid.*, p. 1089.

‡ See *An Account of the Church*, by C. F. Angell, F.S.A., a past-master of the Clothworkers' Company (1874).

and priest's orders in 1741.* In 1749 he married Miss Esther Curteis, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Curteis of Sevenoaks, and he was presented to the rectory of Halstead, about five miles from Sevenoaks, in 1771.*

It appears from the second edition of Hasted's *History of Kent*, Vol. III (1797), p. 19, that *William Hardy*, undoubtedly an error for *Edward Hardy*,† who was Rector of Halstead, was also "master of the school at Sevenoke"; but from various books of account, etc., belonging to the governors of that school, it is clear that he was never headmaster, and there is no name given in the books of any assistant-master. It is amusing to observe that the salary paid from 1719 to the headmaster included provision for an usher or assistant-master. The salary down to 1771, when Henry Whitfield, a relative by marriage of the Curteis family,‡ was appointed, was only £50, but within ten years after that £25 was added as "a contribution towards the usher's place." Yet in 1774 a special resolution was passed by the governors that Mr. Whitfield should provide an under-master "to encourage the school." We can scarcely suppose there was any under-master before this, and this it was, doubtless, which led to Edward Hardy being appointed to the post. We should perhaps not be far wrong in concluding that the arrangement between the master and his assistant was something of the same nature as that between the absentee incumbent and his curate. Nor would this supposition be

* Lambeth Register.

† It is repeated in his account of Sevenoaks. See below.

‡ Berry's *County Genealogies—Kent*.

altogether inconsistent with Hasted's statement in his first edition (1778), that the school was then flourishing "under the Rev. Henry Whitfield." His not mentioning Edward Hardy might be due to his appointment not having come to the author's knowledge when he went to press.

The fact that Edward Hardy was brother-in-law of Dr. Thomas Curteis, who had succeeded his father as Rector of Sevenoaks, is quite sufficient to account for his connection with the school, even if it was his ability as a teacher which caused it to flourish for the remaining twenty years of his life. Dr. Curteis was a governor, as was also the Duke of Dorset, to whom Dr. Curteis was private chaplain at Knowle, the ducal residence in the immediate neighbourhood. The family of Curteis is amongst those well known in the Weald of Kent, and their pedigrees and connections are displayed in Berry's *County Genealogies*. The date of Edward Hardy's marriage appears from a reference in his will to his wife's marriage settlement, which comprised a sum of £2000, but it seems she became entitled sooner or later to something like double that amount at the least, as on her death her personal estate was sworn at "under £5000," and this was probably in addition to the settlement.

It does not appear how Edward Hardy became acquainted with this lady. Her father, besides being patron, rector, and vicar of the living of Sevenoaks, had held for some thirty years the uncommonly rich benefice of Wrotham, which was in the gift of the Archbishop, and is valued by Hasted at £1000 a year. He died in 1747, two years before his daughter's marriage, and was succeeded by his son. The latter

was of Jesus College, but took his degree of B.A. in 1727, and was therefore some years senior to Edward Hardy, who was admitted at Christ's in 1733, but the acquaintance may nevertheless have arisen through some friendship at Cambridge.

From the time of his taking orders till he obtained the rectory of Halstead we have no record of uncle Edward's career. He was perhaps a hard-working curate in the north ; but I imagine it equally probable that he was at Sevenoaks, though whether during that period he performed there any clerical duties, hard-working or otherwise, is an open question. The registers of 1736 and some years later contain no traces of a curate, and the earliest record they contain of any function performed by him is a marriage on April 5, 1775, where he is described as Rector of Halstead. His acceptance of the benefice of that place would rather seem in the nature of such things to be a reason for his living elsewhere, especially having regard to Hasted's account in 1778 of "the present state of Halstead," which consists of the following brief but expressive sentences: "The village of Halstead has nothing worth notice in it. This parish lies upon the chalk hills, and the lands of it are much covered with flints." The rector would doubtless find it preferable to let the parsonage house to a farmer and reside in the nearest market-town, where "company and amusements" would not be entirely lacking. Both in the will of his cousin John dated in 1776 and in his own in 1796 he is simply described as of Sevenoaks.

In performing the marriage there in April, 1775, he was probably only acting on account of the illness of his brother-in-law, the rector, who died very soon

after. On March 30, 1775, Edward Hardy was instituted as his successor.* This, however, was only in the capacity of a family warming-pan. The patronage was vested in David Papillon, the son-in-law and trustee of the late rector, whose son Thomas Sackville Curteis was in due course presented in 1777 on Hardy's resignation.†

The intimate connection of Edward Hardy with the Curteis family seems to account to a considerable extent for the patronage obtained, not only by himself, but by his brother Joseph. Dr. Curteis, in addition to his family living at Sevenoaks, the chaplaincy at Knole, and two or three other posts, held a canonry at Canterbury from 1755,‡ and the Hardys' livings of Headcorn, Monkton, and Halstead were all in the gift of the Archbishop. In the same way we may readily account for Dr. Curteis obtaining for himself from the Dean and Chapter in 1756 the rectory of St. Dionis, Backchurch, in the City of London.‡ This church, which was pulled down in 1877, stood in the corner between Lime Street and Fenchurch Street, and consequently was very near the abode of Edward Hardy's brothers in Leadenhall Street. It would not have been surprising to find that he was at an early date curate of St. Dionis, but that this was not the case is clear from the names of the curates regularly entered in the parish registers. The rector's signature, it need scarcely be mentioned, is conspicuous by its absence.

Edward Hardy died in 1797,§ and his will, dated May 20, 1796, was proved on February 16, 1797, by

* Lambeth Register.

‡ Lambeth Register.

† Hasted.

§ Hasted.

his nephew Robert Cumming.* After referring to his wife's marriage settlement he gives his own property to his own relations. Besides Robert Cumming he names his brothers John and Thomas, the widows of his brothers Joseph and William, his nieces Isabella, Maria, and Mrs. Kingsley, and his nephew George, who, as will be seen below, was the youngest son of his brother Joseph. There is no mention of Henry Hardy or of his nephew Thomas Flasby Hardy. His widow, who was appointed executrix, did not join in proving the will. She survived her husband three years, and it is evidence that she left no issue that administration of her estate was granted to her nephew, the Rev. Thomas Sackville Curteis, as one of her next of kin.†

* Canterbury Prerog. Court.

† Cant. Prerog. Court, April 11, 1799.

CHAPTER IX

SIXTH GENERATION, CONTINUED

Division 2. *Children of Thomas Hardy of Mirfield* (1719-1779)

THOMAS HARDY, the Vicar of Mirfield, seems to have had only two children, whose baptisms are both recorded in the Mirfield parish register, as follows :

William, July 4, 1719 ; and
John, February 25, 1722-3.

From the college books we find William, son of the Rev. Mr. Hardy, born at Mirfield, admitted at Christ's, Cambridge, May 26, 1738. Like his cousin Edward, he was educated at Kirkby Lonsdale school under Mr. Noble.* He was also a sizar, but it does not appear that he was an exhibitioner. He took his degrees of B.A. in 1741 and M.A. in 1745. He was probably identical with the Rev. William Hardy, M.A., who, according to the Archbishop's register, was ordained deacon on March 14, 1741, and priest September 23, 1744, and who was instituted to the rectory of Eastwell, near Wye, in Kent, on the presentation of the Earl of Winchilsea on July 6, 1745. As there is no mention of him in the will of his brother John dated October 21,

* "*In schola de Kirkby Lonsdale sub M^{ro}. Noble.*" In the case of Edward the words are simply "*apud Kirkby Lonsdale,*" etc.

1776, it is probable he was then dead and had left no issue. If we are right in identifying him with the Rector of Eastwell, it will be noticed that his presentation to that living precedes the appointment of his cousin Joseph at Sutton Valence, and therefore marks the earliest arrival of his generation in Kent. But this throws no light on the problem of what brought them all there.

Of the second son of the Vicar of Mirfield, who also settled in Kent, and was perhaps after all the pioneer, we have no record between his baptism and his will. The will is an important clue, showing clearly the connection between the families of the three brothers—William of Park House, Thomas of Mirfield, and John of Kirkburton. The testator describes himself as of Bridge Place, near Canterbury. According to Hasted this was the manor-house of the manor of Bridge, which was purchased by John Taylor of Bifrons in 1704. He pulled down all but one wing previous to his death in 1729. This wing has survived to modern times in the shape of a large square house grown over with ivy and standing near the church. In the floor of the church a slab shows the place of burial of "John Hardy of Bridge Place, Esquire," in 1779. Both Bridge Place and Bifrons were, according to Hasted, the property of the grandson of John Taylor as late as 1790, so that we may conclude that John Hardy was either a leaseholder or the occupier of the place under a marriage settlement, his wife being perhaps the aforesaid John Taylor's daughter.

It appears from John Hardy's will, which is dated October 21, 1776, that he had only one child, a daughter named Frances Catherina, then a minor and

unmarried, and that the name of his wife, who proved the will in the Canterbury Prerogative Court on September 10, 1779, was Anne. In default of his daughter leaving issue he gives his property ultimately to his cousins, "Joseph Hardy of Town Sutton, clerk, Edward Hardy of Sevenoaks, clerk, John and Thomas Hardy of Bishopsgate, hardwaremen, Elizabeth Cumming of Kirkby Lonsdale, widow, and Thomas Hardy of Kirkburton, Yorkshire, and his two sisters." Whether or not Frances Catherina married and had issue we are not able to state. We can, however, aver that no tradition of any share of her fortune having passed to her cousin Joseph or his representatives has yet reached those of his descendants who are at present in being.

Our record of the last-named "Thomas and his two sisters," who would come next in the series of the sixth generation, has already been given with our account of their father. Of Robert, the son of Elizabeth Cumming of Kirkby Lonsdale, and of the descendants of John and Thomas Hardy of Bishopsgate, we have also dealt in anticipation. We come therefore at last to ourselves, the descendants of their brother Joseph.

CHAPTER X

SEVENTH GENERATION

Children of Joseph Hardy of Sutton Valence

THE parish register at Sutton Valence gives the following list with dates both of birth and baptism of the schoolmaster's children :

John, born 22, bap. 30 October, 1751.

Thomas, b. 21 March, bap. 16 April, 1753.

Matilda Elizabeth, b. 28 July, bap. 9 August, 1755
(d. 15, buried 20 April, 1765).

Anna Christiana, b. 26 August, bap. 13 September,
1756.

Hariot, b. 23 March, bap. 20 April, 1759.

William, b. 16 March, bap. 4 May, 1761.

Joseph, b. 13 February, bap. 9 March, 1764.

George, b. 16 November, bap. 16 December, 1766.

Of these John, Thomas, and William must have died young, as Joseph their younger brother is described as the eldest son in the entry of his admission at Pembroke College, Cambridge, on May 30, 1782.

Of Anna Christiana I have no trace beyond her baptism. She is not mentioned in her uncle Edward's will dated May 20, 1796. In fact, as he only mentions Hariot (Mrs. Kingsley) and George, it may be concluded that none of the others were then living. Of Joseph it is said, according to a reliable tradition, that

he was chaplain at Knoles to the Duke of Dorset, which, from what we know of his family connections, seems quite probable, and that he died unmarried in early life.

Of George's marriage I have not been able to find any direct evidence. The date July 25, 1788, and the name of his wife Mary I have found at the foot of a list of his children's birthdays written on the upper part of a half-sheet of foolscap which was formerly in the possession of his youngest daughter Hannah. The marriage is registered neither at Sutton Valence nor at Shoreditch, where the first-born was christened, nor at St. Peter's, Cornhill. The bridegroom being in his twenty-second year, we may conjecture that it was a runaway match. Of the bride all we can say is that her age was all but twenty-three,* and that her surname of Dalton is decidedly suggestive of the North Country. It occurs as a place-name in the *Parliamentary Gazetteer* about a dozen times—always in Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, or Lancashire. There is a manor of Dalton in Lancashire immediately adjoining the Westmorland boundary.

George Hardy's coming to London can scarcely have been altogether unconnected with the residence of his uncles in Leadenhall Street, and it is possible that he was for a time in their employ. But it seems more probable that he went into the Excise Office on his first arrival, which may well have been before he married, or at least as early as 1790, as that is the last year in which the name of David Papillon appears in the annual list of the Excise Commissioners. He

* Her birthday, July 27, 1765, is added to the list of her children's with her surname.

it was, no doubt, who introduced George Hardy into the office. He had been on the Board since 1756, and senior commissioner since 1781, and another David Papillon had been a commissioner many years before him.* He was a sort of uncle-in-law to George, having married a Miss Curteis of Sevenoaks, whose sister was the wife of the Rev. Edward Hardy.

George's occupation is not mentioned in the earlier registers of his children's baptisms, but in 1795 he is described at Bethnal Green as a gentleman, and in 1796 as a clerk. The first express mention we have of his being a clerk in the Excise Office is on April 26, 1800, the record of his son John's presentation at Christ's Hospital by Alderman Sir William Herne.† In the *Royal Calendar and Court Directory* for 1818 he appears amongst the officials under "Excise Office: Bills of Exchange Department." In 1824 he is moved up to "General Accountants: Papers, etc.," where he remains till 1829. From 1829 to 1833 he appears as "George Hardy, Esquire," being moved up in 1832, the year of his death, to "Debentures, etc."

Of the Government clerk who thus died in harness at the age of sixty-six tradition tells us that, if he had been content not to hold his head quite so high, he might himself have risen higher and been better endowed with the rewards which this world can bestow. We may gather that he had inherited something of that modest yet self-sufficient pride which was characteristic of his statesmen ancestors. Some of his colleagues, like the Kemps, with whom he became allied by mar-

* See the *Court and City Register* (Rider's Merlin) from 1744.

† He was elected for Castle Baynard ward in 1796, and was sheriff before 1800 (*Court and City Register*).

riage, may have had their kin in the ranks of the service for a generation or more, but it was not everybody in the office whose uncle was brother-in-law to the senior commissioner, whose father was a parson with three or four livings in the gift of an archbishop, or whose elder brother was chaplain to a duke. Proud though he might be of these connections, he would not be disposed to boast of them, and still less to trade upon them. Cadging for promotion might suit others, but for him honourable conduct and steady attention to business ought to be enough to secure his deserts. If these were his sentiments it need not surprise us that after a long and severe struggle to maintain his rapidly growing family in early life his rise in officialdom should be slow, especially in the atmosphere which prevailed in the days of the Regency, and that he should be able to leave little or nothing for the support of his widow, notwithstanding nearly half a century of quill-driving and arithmetic in Government employ. Probably she had a small pension. She survived her husband eleven years, dying in the house of her son John in Canonbury Square on January 21, 1843. She is remembered by more than one of her grandchildren as sweet and charming, and on the grandchildren of her grandchildren her portrait, painted in her old age in a close-fitting mob-cap, still looks down with a quiet smile.

CHAPTER XI

EIGHTH GENERATION

§ 1. *George Hardy and his Children (1789-1892)*

FROM the entries of the baptisms of George Hardy's numerous children something may be learnt of his early life and circumstances, and incidentally some light may be thrown upon the topography of the veritable suburbs of London City at the end of the eighteenth century, when the state of things was very different from anything the present generation has known. It should perhaps be premised that the Excise Office was then in Broad Street, and that it was necessary for a clerk, who had to be on his stool at an early hour, to have his dwelling-place within an easy walk of that spot. The era of the London omnibus dates only from 1829.

The following is a list of the children of George and Mary Hardy as entered in the registers of their baptisms, the first three being at St. Leonard's, Shore-ditch, and the rest at St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green :

George	born May 25, bap. June 21, 1789.
William	„ July 9 „ Aug. 4, 1790.
John	„ May 9* „ June 3, 1792.

* This date is the only one which does not agree with the list referred to above, where it is given as May 7. In the presentation book at Christ's Hospital it is given as May⁹.

Hariot	born	Dec. 2, '93,	bap.	Jan. 5, 1794.
Harriot	,,	July 15	,,	Aug. 26, 1795.
George Frederick	,,	Aug. 9	,,	Sep. 4, 1796.
Harriet	,,	Oct. 15	,,	Nov. 11, 1798.
Mary Ann	,,	Mar. 19	,,	April 19, 1801.
Eliza	}	Mar. 9	,	May 4, 1804.
Hannah Maria				
Lewis Adam	,,	Mar. 5	,,	April 3, 1808.

In the first entry the parents' address is given as "the Curtain," and in the second as "Holywell Mount." No such addresses now exist, and some little investigation of the ancient state of Shoreditch is necessary to find them. If the two were not identical, they were both, at any rate, in or very near to what is now Curtain Road, a thoroughfare far from inviting to a newly married couple in search of a genteel though modest home. In a district mainly interested in the manufacture of household furniture, it runs north and south on the west side of, and parallel to, the high road called Shoreditch; which, as in the days of John Gilpin, connects Bishopsgate Street, through Norton Folgate, with Kingsland, Edmonton, and Ware. Curtain Road is connected with Shoreditch by Worship Street at its south end, about the middle by Holywell Lane, and at its north end by the piece of the Old Street Road between the "London Apprentice" and St. Leonard's Church.

In the maps by R. Blome in Strype's editions of Stow's *Survey of London* (1720 and 1755) "the Curtain" is shown as a wide roadway or strip of open space corresponding with that part of Curtain Road which now runs from Worship Street (then Hog Lane) as far

only as Holywell Lane. The name of the Curtain, which it will be remembered was borne by one of the theatres contemporary with Shakespeare's first arrival in London,* was derived from the fortification, a wall between two bastions, which evidently bounded the east side of this open space.† This fortification would not be complete without a ditch, and this was provided along the opposite side of the strip by a watercourse, which reached it from the north-west, turning south at a point a short distance further north than the end of Holywell Lane. This is all made plain by an elaborate map of the parish of Shoreditch by Chassereau dated 1745.‡ This also shows, by shading, what was evidently the original "Holywell Mount"—a mound nearly opposite the end of Holywell Lane, owned separately from the adjoining property. It was bounded on the north and east by the aforesaid watercourse, which came along "Willow Walk" (the site of the present Great Eastern Street) from a festive watering-place in Old Street known as the Baths of St. Agnes Clear, and on the south-east by a foot-path, which crossed the watercourse by a bridge and ran through the fields in a south-west direction along what is now Scrutton Street and Holywell Row.

Chassereau also shows a sort of road or way called "Ditchside" continuing the "Curtain" a short distance further north, that is, to the point where the ditch turns off round the Mount. In 1756 an Act of

* Stow's *Survey of London*; Arber's Introduction to Gosson's *School of Abuse*, p. 8.

† Cunningham's *London Past and Present*, ed. Wheatley.

‡ A copy is in the *Crace Collection* (British Museum), portfolio XVI, No. 4, and there is another at St. Leonard's Church.

Parliament* was passed for improving the road "through Worship Street and the Curtain to the Ditchside next Holywell Mount," and making a new road thence through garden ground to the London Apprentice. It was clearly under this Act that Curtain Road came into existence, but we cannot be certain how long after 1756 the work was completed or when new houses were built along it.

In Ellis's *History of Shoreditch and Norton Folgate* (1798) he says that Holywell Mount, covering three acres, was levelled about the year 1787, and that streets had since been built on the site,† and Horwood's Map of London in 1799 shows these streets and Curtain Road laid out as they are to-day. All we can say therefore for certain is that the conversion of the Curtain and Ditchside into Curtain Road and the covering of the Mount with houses took place at some time between 1787 and 1798—possibly to some extent before, but probably almost entirely after May 25, 1789, the day of the appearance of Mrs. George Hardy's first-born.

The only houses now existing in Curtain Road which can have been standing anything like a hundred years are the rather picturesque block on the east side at the south end—in fact, on what was originally "the Curtain." It seems probable that these were built when the improvements were at an early stage, and George Hardy may therefore have lived there in 1789. "Holywell Mount" might be a vague way of referring to one of the newly built streets on that site; but more probably, as it seems to me, it was another

* 29 Geo. II, cap. 44.

† p. 207. Chassereau gives the area as 3 a. 2 r. 13 p.

name for the short continuation of the Curtain at the side of the Mount, which had formerly been called Ditchside. The old maps show buildings adjoining this spot at an early date on ground which formed the "back side" of the ancient Holywell Priory, and the course of the improvements would barely have reached this point in 1790. Indeed it might be supposed that the "Curtain" also was only a euphemism for Ditchside, and that both addresses refer to the one abode opposite the Mount. There is, however, an odd little coincidence which inclines one to the old buildings as the earlier home of the youthful couple. The blind alley which runs along the south side of these buildings bears the name of Hearn Street. May it not be that Alderman Herne, who, as already mentioned, gave them a presentation for their boy at Christ's Hospital in 1800, was the owner of these buildings, and therefore George Hardy's landlord in 1789?

It is not surprising, considering the alterations which must necessarily have been in progress in Curtain Road in 1789 and later, that our ancestor and his family did not remain there long. The next entry in the register gives their abode in June, 1792, as "Union Street." There is no Union Street actually in Shore-ditch parish, but that recognised by the parish clerk as belonging to it runs east from Bishopsgate Street without* to Crispin Street, and has since with its continuation, Paternoster Row, been renamed Brushfield Street. It was doubtless called Union Street

* Bishopsgate Streets Within and Without are now officially renamed "Bishopsgate": a rather unfortunate change, tending to suggest that the original "Gate" was a street, as it might well have been, according to Northern or Midland usage, whereas it was an opening in the City wall.

because it united the City with Spitalfields, at the same time passing through a small area which was outside both, known as the Liberty of the Old Artillery Ground. The name of this area lying immediately outside the City speaks for itself. As a practising ground for the gunners from the Tower it did not want a parish church, and after it was superseded by the New Artillery Ground near Bunhill Fields and built upon, it still remained extra-parochial. Consequently the inhabitants had to go for christenings, marriages, and burials to such neighbouring church as they chose. It was therefore natural that the third child of George Hardy, if born in this Liberty, should be christened at the same church as the two elder ones. There is nothing in the register to guide us to any particular house in Union Street, but the part within the Liberty is marked off by the backs of the houses in two streets which cross it, Duke Street and Gun Street. The general appearance of the little houses, now nearly all made into shops and some rebuilt, is squalid and depressing, but of course they have greatly deteriorated with age and the increasing closeness of their surroundings. The cross streets do not seem to have been built till after 1799, as they are not shown on Horwood's map of that date.

The entries in the register at Bethnal Green give us no information as to residence, and our next evidence on that point is the record of John Hardy's admission to Christ's Hospital on April 26, 1800. His father is there described as a clerk in the Excise Office, residing at 2 George Street, Bethnal Green. Of George Street only a small part remains, and is now called Code Street. It runs north from Buxton Street (formerly

Spicer Street) to the East London Railway close to Shoreditch Station. In 1800, as appears from Horwood's map, it extended north across the site of the railway to St. John Street, and south across the site of the present extension of Truman, Hanbury, and Buxton's brewery. No. 2 therefore has certainly disappeared. Judging from what has the misfortune to remain of it, George Street at its best consisted of very humble abodes, but in 1800 it was quite on the outskirts of the town. Spicer Street in two or three minutes led from it to a large area of garden ground at the back of the houses in Mile End. Beyond St. Matthew's Church to the north and east was the open country, and even on the west side of the church were fields only just being laid out as new streets.

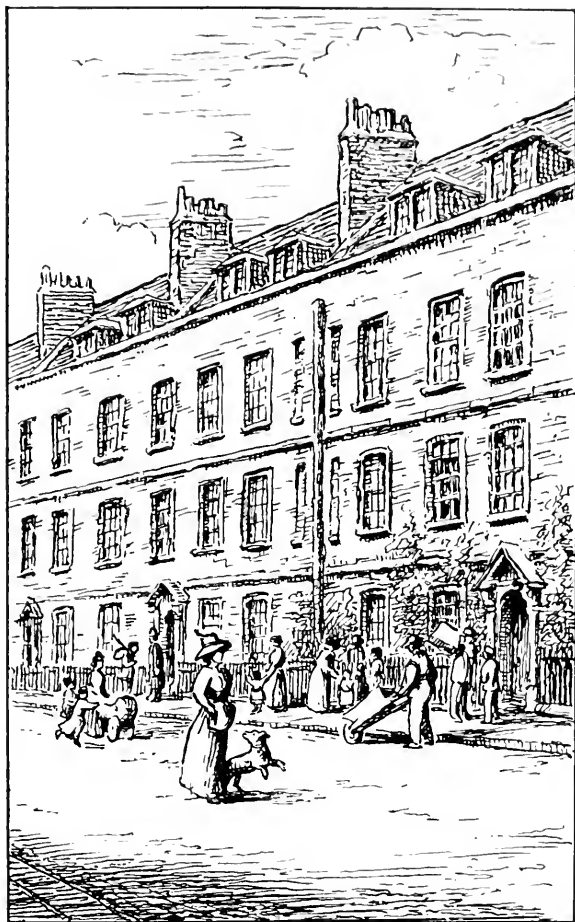
The next place of abode of which we have any knowledge was Hoxton Square, and of this only the evidence of tradition, which, however, seems to have been accurately preserved. It seems tolerably certain that the house was that now numbered 19 on the north side. It has been much altered if not rebuilt, and is occupied as a clergy-house in connection with the chapel of St. Monica which adjoins it. The square is only a stone's-throw from the London Apprentice, the corner where Curtain Road joins Old Street. It is consequently a rather dismal spot, nearly every house having been knocked, so to speak, into a furniture factory. Some of the houses on the south side, which have been very little altered, are very curious, and must be something like two hundred years old, but the rest have been built much later. The square was, however, laid out certainly as early as 1720, according to Strype, when the gardens behind the

houses on the east side joined the little wayside hamlet of Hoxton, otherwise Hogge's Town. The old houses in the narrow High Street have still many features reminiscent of those distant days, which seem easier to realise than those of the early nineteenth century. Of that time the garden is probably the least-altered feature which now remains in the square.

As to the time when George Hardy lived there tradition does not speak definitely, but as the square is in Shoreditch parish, it may be presumed that he did not move thither till after March, 1808, when his youngest child was christened at Bethnal Green. On the other hand, there is reason to suppose it did not continue long after 1812. In that year the marriage took place between his eldest son William, then aged about twenty-two, and the daughter of one of his colleagues at the Excise Office, Thomas Kemp,* who was his neighbour in Hoxton Square ; and it is said that out of this event arose differences between the two families which led the Hardys to move away.

It is not said whither they moved, but there is a tradition that for a considerable time their place of abode was "Norton Folgate." What is generally known as Norton Folgate to-day is the short length of the aforesaid ancient highway to Edmonton which connects the north end of Bishopsgate Street Without with the south end of "Shoreditch." This short thoroughfare—but at its south end only the eastern side of it—might be more accurately called that part of the high street which is in the Liberty of Norton Folgate, the latter being a small area at the south-

* His name appears amongst the clerks there in the Royal Calendar as early as 1795.



OLD HOUSES IN SPITTAL SQUARE, NORTON FOLGATE

eastern corner of Shoreditch parish wedged in between the City, the Old Artillery Ground Liberty, and Spitalfields. A small part of it lies on the west side of the high street and adjoins the south side of Worship Street, but the main part is on the east, consisting of Spittal Square, White Lion Street, and two or three streets further north. Spittal Square is a quiet nook reached only by narrow streets, and consequently scarcely used at all by wheeled traffic. It contains two or three blocks of alluring old Georgian houses, of the style of that at Sutton Valence in which George Hardy was born; and they suggest that a hundred years ago Norton Folgate must have been quite a dignified place of residence. Like the Liberty of the Old Artillery Ground, it was extra-parochial, and Ellis* quotes "the ancients" as saying to that effect that they married and buried where they pleased.

It is therefore not inconsistent with the family having lived here in 1820 that on December 7 of that year John Hardy, the second son, is described in the register of his marriage at St. John's, Hackney, as of St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, that being very probably where he would worship and have his banns published if Norton Folgate was his home, as it had certainly been his father's place of worship from 1793 to 1808.

Another coincidence may be mentioned in confirmation of the tradition of a residence in Norton Folgate. At St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, there is an entry that William and Charlotte Read of Norton Folgate had their daughter Charlotte baptised there on May 23, 1790. It may well be conjectured that

* *Hist. Shoreditch and Norton Folgate* (1798), p. 305.

this William was identical with the father of Mary Read, the bride of John Hardy, whose marriage has just been mentioned, and that the two families were near neighbours before the Reads moved to the then salubrious suburb of Hackney, where they were living in 1820. For we have it from the bridegroom himself that one of the features of his courtship, like that of Pyramus and Thisbe, was a garden wall—in other words, it is clear that the gardens of the lovers' houses adjoined each other. This proximity and the fact that Mary Read had an uncle in the Excise Office easily account for an intimacy between the two families.*

From Norton Folgate and Bethnal Green it is a far cry to the banks of Lune, and it may seem odd that we should turn to the pages of the *Lonsdale Magazine* for a description of the neighbourhood immediately adjoining the City Liberty at the time of our ancestor's residence there. There is, however, an article in that periodical for the year 1821,† under the heading of "Spitalfields," apparently attributable to the Rev. William Carus Wilson, who was interesting himself in relieving the appalling poverty of that suburban parish. To this object it appears he had appropriated the "superfluous labour" of the Tunstal School for Training Girls for Service. This school was part of the institution founded by him which included the Cowan Bridge School for Daughters of the Clergy, where everyone familiar with the history of the Brontë

* We do not know what was William Read's own business. He came from Deal, in which neighbourhood his family had been settled for some generations.

† Vol. II, p. 228.

family—and who is not?—will remember that Charlotte and her sisters spent some unhappy years as pupils.

The cottages in which the daughters of the clergy were then housed still exist on the banks of the Leck Beck, and from the side windows of the end cottage you look across the road to a field gate. Through this the carriage drive leads to Park House, which had been the habitation of William Hardy, George Hardy's grandfather, almost exactly a hundred years before the time with which we are now concerned. The editor of the magazine which was published at Kirkby Lonsdale was one John Briggs, who may have boasted a cousinship many times removed with the Rev. John Briggs, the vicar, who also a hundred years ago had befriended William Hardy's two brothers. Is it not an inviting hypothesis that George Hardy was the link, or one of the links, that brought the charity of Carus Wilson and the good people of Lonsdale into connection with Spitalfields? A large part of the article consists of a quotation from the speech of Mr. T. F. Buxton, M.P., at a Mansion House meeting of the Benevolent Society in 1816, in which the misery of that parish, rendered all the more acute from its being one huge self-contained area of poor wage-earners in the closest contiguity with a centre of rapidly increasing wealth, is very impressively described. As a result of this meeting some £43,000 was subscribed for the relief of the parish, and in the distribution of this fund the principal agent named is the Rev. Josiah Pratt, the minister of Wheler Chapel in Spittal Square, Norton Folgate.

As we have now reached a period within the know-

ledge of the generations still living, we may deal very shortly with remaining facts as to generation No. 8.

Of the eleven children enumerated above five died young. In the record at Christ's Hospital of John Hardy's admission it is stated that he then had only four children, and indeed it is obvious that the first George must have died before the second was christened in 1796, and the first and second Harriets before the third was christened in 1798.

William, as already stated, married in 1812 Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Kemp. By her he had a numerous family.

John married first Mary, daughter of William Read, and secondly Ann, daughter of Samuel Whitaker, by both of whom he had issue. He died in his ninety-first year, which is the longest recorded life in our genealogy, that of his cousin Rebecca Bingley (born Hardy) of Kirkburton excepted. The average age recorded in the male line to this point is a fraction under seventy.

George Frederick married first Sarah Patten, and secondly Fanny Groom, leaving issue by his first marriage two daughters only.

Harriet married Thomas Charlesworth, by whom she had many children.*

Of Mary and Eliza nothing but their baptisms is known to us, and they no doubt died in childhood.

* Whether it be a mere coincidence I know not, but it is worth noting that records of a family of Charlesworths are found century after century in the parish registers of Kirkburton, where we have already traced a branch of the Hardys. The Charlesworths appear so numerous in the registers from 1540 to 1571 that they must have been flourishing in the neighbourhood many generations earlier.

Hannah Maria, who survived all her brothers and sisters, died unmarried in 1892.

Lewis Adam married and had one daughter.

§ 2. *Stray Cousins*

There appears in the list of officials at the Excise Office amongst the "accountants for London Brewery," from 1823 to 1828, one Henry J. Hardy. This may have been a son of the "Henry, son of Thomas Hardy," who was baptised at St. Peter's, Cornhill, on December 18, 1757, and who may have been a son of Thomas Hardy of Leadenhall Street, and therefore first cousin to George. Henry himself does not appear in the published list of the Excise Officials, but it may well be supposed that he was there without attaining to the upper ranks, or that his son was got into the office in consequence of his relationship with George.

Mrs. Kingsley, the sister of George Hardy, was said by her nephew John to have had a daughter, whom he used to recall as his charming cousin, Chrissy, and a tradition, which does not furnish the name of her husband, relates that she had three daughters, Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Rokeby, and Mrs. Green. The name of Chrissy, doubtless taken from her aunt Anna Christiana, also directs us again to St. Peter's ; where was buried in 1771 the wife of John Hardy of Leadenhall Street, who brought the name of Christian into the family.

APPENDIX I

POOR HOUSEHOLDERS OF BARBON NAMED IN THE WILL OF AGNES HARDY, MAY 28, 1605

John Becke,	Robert Crosby,
Ric. Kendale,	Ric. Kendale wife,
John Gibson,	James Richardson wife,
Geffery Hardye,	Nicholas Davye,
Anthony Hardye,	Anthony Bayliffe,
Wytton wife,	Roland Whitehead,
Ric. Ustonson wife,	George Dickonson,
John Wilson,	Robert Gibson,
Edward Buskell wife,	William Wilson,
and James Fawcett.	

APPENDIX II

THE HEARTH-TAX RETURNS OF 1670 FOR MIDDLETON, BARBON, AND CASTERTON

<i>Name</i>	<i>Hearths</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Hearths</i>
MIDDLETON		John Riding . . .	2
Mr. Thos. Bainbrigg . . .	1	Chr. Walker . . .	1
Widd. Bayliffe . . .	1	Tho. Whittington . . .	1
Symond Pierson . . .	1	John Thornbecke . . .	1
John Dent . . .	1	Robt. Atkinson . . .	1
Hy. Holme . . .	1	Miles Walker . . .	1
Mr. Tho. Ward . . .	3	John Riding . . .	2
George Spencer . . .	1	John Bayliffe . . .	2
Wm. Bainbrigg . . .	1	John Bayliffe . . .	1
James Harrison . . .	2	Thos. Baines et Mater . . .	2
Joseph Bayliffe . . .	1	John Wilson . . .	1
Wm. Richardson . . .	1	Widd. Moore . . .	5
Richard Bouskell . . .	2	James Wilson . . .	2
John Thornbecke . . .	1	John Moore . . .	2
Wm. Addison . . .	1	Richd. Goseling . . .	2
James Moore . . .	3	John Midlton, Esqre. . .	7
John Bainbrigg . . .	1	Chr. Thornbecke . . .	1
Mr. Moore . . .	1	George Ward . . .	2
John Ward . . .	2	John Thornbecke . . .	1
John Harling . . .	1	Antho. Goseling . . .	2
Wm. Smarthwaite . . .	1	Edw. Goseling . . .	2
Mr. Bainbrigg . . .	4	Chr. Bland . . .	1
Phillip Walker . . .	1	James Hebblethwaite . . .	4
James Bouskell . . .	2	Tho. Otway . . .	2
Robt. Fawcett . . .	1	John Hebblethwaite . . .	1

<i>Name</i>	<i>Hearths</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Hearths</i>
Wm. Goselin . . .	1	Richd. Hodgson . . .	2
James Goselin . . .	1	Wm. Adison . . .	1
Robt. Birkett . . .	1	Richd. Garnett . . .	1
Widd. Garden . . .	1	Tho. Gibbonson . . .	3
James Ruecroft . . .	2	John Atkinson . . .	2
Widd. Nelson . . .	1	Robt. Moore . . .	1
Nich. Otway . . .	2	John Fowler . . .	1
Nich. Otway . . .	1	Robt. Holme . . .	2
Robt. Hodgson . . .	3	Chr. Holme . . .	2
James Baines . . .	1	Tho. Fawcett . . .	1
Rodger Dawson . . .	1	John Becke . . .	1
Tho. Houghton . . .	1	Rich. Shuttleworth,	
Edward Harling . . .	1	Esqre.	2
		Robt. Jackson . . .	1
		Edmond Garnett . . .	1
BARBON		Edmond Garnett . . .	2
Robt. Bayliffe . . .	2	John Bainbrigg . . .	2
Robt. Hardye . . .	2		
Jeremy Baines . . .	1		
Edmond Hardye . . .	1	CASTERTON	
Sam. Otlay . . .	2	Tho. Fawcett . . .	1
Miles Garnett . . .	1	John Foxcroft . . .	2
Edmond Garnett . . .	1	Geo. Woodhouse . . .	1
Robt. Whitehead . . .	1	Bryan Manzer . . .	3
Tho. Holme . . .	2	Robt. Denton . . .	1
Wm. Garnett . . .	1	Rebecca Witton . . .	2
John Garnett . . .	4	Tho. Parker . . .	3
Tho. Garnett . . .	1	Wm. Garnett . . .	1
Tho. Dent . . .	1	Wm. Hinde . . .	2
John Wilson . . .	1	Robt. Garnett . . .	1
Tho. Fawcett . . .	1	Edmond Witton . . .	1
James Waidson . . .	2	John Moore . . .	1
Edward Garnett . . .	2	Wm. Dodghson . . .	1
Richard Garnett . . .	2	Joseph Moore . . .	1
Samuel Gibson . . .	1	Chr. Witton . . .	2
James Richardson . . .	1	Richd. Turner . . .	1

<i>Name</i>	<i>Hearths</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Hearths</i>
Chr. Harling . . .	1	Wm. Midlton . . .	1
Wm. Hardy . . .	1	Edmond Dodghson . . .	1
Chr. Jackson . . .	2	John Smith . . .	1
Edm. Harling . . .	1	Franc. Styth . . .	2
Edw. Harling . . .	1	Tho. Fawcett . . .	1
Widd. Bayliffe . . .	2	Widd. Garnett . . .	1
Hy. Johnson 2 new built		Tho. Hinde . . .	1
Widd. Jackson . . .	1	Tho. Witton . . .	1
Edw. Bland . . .	1		

From the repetition of some of the names in the above and other lists it seems probable that, in spite of the statutory directions to the contrary, the owner was sometimes entered instead of the occupier.

The following is a comparison of the Hearth-Tax Returns with the census enumerations of recent times :

Places	1670	1831		1911
	houses	house	persons	persons
Middleton township . . .	62	50	286	222
Barbon township . . .	36	62	318	274
Casterton township* . . .	33	58	302	428
Whole parish, except Mansergh	381	725	4153	3226
Kirkby Lonsdale township . .	102	318	1686	1524
Rural townships, except Mansergh *	249	407	2467	1702
Mansergh . . .	—	35	232	160

* Allowance must be made for 186 persons in the population of Casterton in 1911 resident in the Clergy Daughters Institutions.

APPENDIX III

LISTS FROM THE BARBON ENFRANCHISEMENT DEED OF JANUARY 17, 1718

Schedule I: Customary tenants whose tenements were enfranchised with the rents reserved by the enfranchisement deed.

	£	s.	d.
Margaret Addison	7	10	
Chr. Holme	15	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
John Atkinson, junr.	15	6	
Roger Moore	9	6	
Robt. Place	10	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
John Becke	4	8	$\frac{1}{2}$
Robt. Holme, junr.	11	4	$\frac{1}{2}$
John Jackson	1	4	
Robt. Holme, senr.	1	1	$4\frac{1}{2}$
John Ortt	9	0	
Wm. Dixon of Coulby	12	7	
Thos. Richardson	10	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
Hy. Bainbridge	17	10	$\frac{1}{2}$
Thos. Garnett, senr.	7	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
Thos. Garnett, son of Edw.	13	11	
Thos. Hammond	2	0	
Wm. Dixon of Barbon		3	
Alice Waller		2	
James Wadeson	7	7	
John Atkinson, senr.	6	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
John Sowermire		4	

Carried Forward £9 5 $8\frac{1}{2}$

		£	s.	d.
	Brought Forward	9	5	8½
Thos. Holme				8½
Eliz. Stainbanks.		2	1	
John Rigg		3	7	
Eliz. Glover		2	9	
Anthy. Reamy		1	7½	
Alice Cragg		1	11	
John Garnett		1	12	10
Thos. Garnett, junr.		14	0	
Edm. Garnett		5	1	
Thos. Dent		3	3	
Wm. Hardy		6	7	
Saml. Fawcett			11	
Eliz. Parker			2	
James Garnett		3	9	
Thomas Herd		2	6	
Bryan Watson		5	9	
James Harrison		1	11	0
Total [rejecting the odd halfpenny]		£15	4	2

Schedule 2: Ancient free rents payable before the deed of enfranchisement and still reserved.

	£	s.	d.
Joseph Gibson			7
Tho. Dent	2	3	
William Hardy			8
Thos. Richardson		1½	
Anthony Reamy.		½	
Eliz. Glover		½	
Robt. Holme		½	
James Harrison		1	

APPENDIX IV

GRANDCHILDREN OF GEORGE HARDY (1766-1832)

I. *Children of William Hardy*

1. Eliza (m. Robert Shaw), 1813-1903 : issue living.
2. William, 1820-1861 : had issue.
3. George, 1824-1892 : died without issue.
4. Charles, 1826-1911 : issue living.
5. Edward.
6. Mary (m. James Kimber), b. 1835 : issue living.

II. *Children of John Hardy and Mary (b. Read)*

1. Robert Read, died 1832, aged 10.
2. Mary (m. Jean François Macaire), 1824-1870 : issue living.
3. John Frederic, 1826-1888 : died unmarried.*
4. William Read, 1827-1894 : issue living.
5. Charles Friend, 1829-1883 : issue living.

III. *Children of John Hardy and Ann (b. Whitaker)*

1. Samuel Whitaker, 1835-1898 : issue living.
2. George Dalton, b. 1837 : issue living.

IV. *Children of George Frederick Hardy and Sarah (b. Patten)*

1. Constance (m. Glascott Symes), 1836-88 : issue living.
2. Matilda, 1836-1906 : died unmarried.

V. *Daughter of Lewis Adam Hardy*

Eleanor (m. Oram) : issue living.

* He was one of those Cambridge men who in 1857 cradled the Alpine Club on the summit of the Finsteraarhorn (*Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers*, 1st Series).

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